



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-237
Tuesday
10 December 1991

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Article Views Trilateral Free Trade Agreement

AU0712162091 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
(Economy and Law Supplement) in Polish 3 Dec 91 p 1

[Danuta Walewska report: "Former Competitors Will Now Become Partners"]

[Text] The agreement to gradually reduce all the trade barriers between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary will be signed 1 July at the latest. That was the decision reached at the Polish, Hungarian, and CSFR foreign trade ministers' meeting Saturday. The process of total liberalization will probably take between five and 10 years, depending on the economic sphere, and not five years, as was optimistically stated earlier.

The liberalization will apply to all categories of industrial and agricultural-food commodities. The present barriers take the form of customs duties, import charges, and domestic taxes that have a discriminatory effect on trade. Special clauses to protect particularly sensitive industries in the three countries are also envisaged. The liberalization timetable will be implemented in such a way that trade between the "three" will take place according to principles no worse than those that govern trade with EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and the EC.

Negotiations will take place according to the following schedule. The provisions of a trilateral agreement, based on the agreement with EFTA, will be worked out by the end of December (the text of this agreement will be kept confidential until 30 April 1992). Further negotiations will take place from January 1992 to the end of April. In May, the ministers responsible for the negotiations will review the results thereof and take all necessary decisions.

Foreign Trade Minister Dariusz Ledworowski does not disguise his pleasure at having finally discussed the details with his Hungarian and Czechoslovak counterparts.

The idea of liberalizing trade within the "triangle" has been a Polish asset for a long time. A step forward was made at the Visegrad meeting of the three presidents, who adopted a political declaration. The decision to adopt this declaration was made—in Krakow. Until now, the conditions governing trade between the three countries have certainly not been more liberal than those that govern trade with the EC or EFTA. As soon as trade began to be calculated in convertible currency, it suffered a large drop.

All the decisions concerning trade within the "triangle" will be made on a bilateral basis. In our agreement, we will incorporate all the things upon which we have already agreed with the EC. Thus, every year we will liberalize from 10 to 15 percent of the trade between our three countries. We also want complete liberalization to occur as soon as possible. However, our partners are afraid of the Polish economy's penetrating strength.

Another problem is the currency in which the trade will be conducted. We are ahead of our partners as far as convertibility is concerned. However, settling accounts in convertible currency effectively slows down trade. For the time being, this can only be successfully carried out in tourism. This is nothing new to Poles, who can simply walk into a currency exchange office and buy dollars, but the Hungarians, Czechs, and Slovaks are subject to restrictions. Therefore, an inter-bank agreement is essential.

We will cooperate in the sphere of transportation. Special rates for goods shipments are envisaged, and small trucks will be able to travel within the three countries without any special permission. In the sphere of telecommunications, a fiber optic link between the northern and southern extremities of our region is envisaged, and more diversified supplies of energy resources are planned.

Nevertheless, the rapprochement between the countries in this "triangle" does not mean there will be no competition at its apex, both in the east and in the west. Thus, in the east we will compete to acquire the same raw materials, and in the west we will compete to sell the same foodstuffs. There is nothing to be done about that, because the principles of normal trade will still to be applicable.

Trilateral Security Ties With WEU Proposed

AU0612141991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 3 Dec 91 p 2

[MTI report: "WEU's Offer to Three Eastern European Countries—Cooperation Rather Than Membership"]

[Text] Under certain circumstances, the Western European Union (WEU) might send observers to the Hungarian-Yugoslav border to see if the belligerent parties are violating Hungarian territory. Among other things, the Political Affairs Committee submitted a proposal on this issue to the Paris session of the WEU parliamentary general meeting convened on 2 December. This committee also recommended that representatives of Hungary, the CSFR, and Poland regularly participate in WEU Council sessions when they deal with issues affecting the security of East and Central Europe.

It was suggested that these countries become involved in the work of the WEU Observation Center, which uses satellite data to monitor the implementation of disarmament resolutions and military movements on the continent. The WEU also suggested that delegates of these countries participate in the European effort regarding weapons production. [fegyvergyartaso egyutt-mukodesbe]

In one of its reports submitted to the general meeting, the Committee states that at present it can only establish relations with the three Central-European countries, namely Hungary, the CSFR, and Poland.

Economy Minister Pashko's Resignation Reported*AU0912165891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Dec 91***[Sokol Perihati report]**

[Text] Dr. Gramoz Pashko gave a news conference at the Press Center in the Palace of Congresses at 1330 today. Albanian and foreign journalists were present.

Council of Ministers' spokesman Frederik Mikeli opened the news conference and gave the floor to Pashko.

Pashko reported briefly on the results of his visits to London and Italy. He said that his visit failed. Although he had met Jacques Attali, the agreement [with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] was not signed because a government crisis was announced in Albania on 5 December. Nevertheless, the signature of this agreement has been scheduled for 16 December.

In Rome, Pashko met Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and talked about the current situation in Albania, which was unclear to the Italians.

Pashko also said at the news conference that he had tendered his resignation today to the president of the Republic. He said that he will stand by the Democratic Party [PD] in its Economics Group and as a member of the party's Managing Council. He also confirmed that there is no conflict between PD interests and those of the nation, and that he will realize his ideas about the struggle against communism within the PD, with the aim of finally destroying communist institutions.

Answering a question about his opinion of the Voice of America commentary accusing him of collaborating with the Hoxha family, Pashko said that this is not true. The Voice of America has made a great contribution to democracy in Albania, he said. It is its right to make comments within the context of freedom of the press, and I am sorry that such an accusation has been added to some 70 articles in ZERI I POPULLIT, Pashko said.

Asked about the failure of his visit to London, Pashko replied that the failure was due to the unclear situation in Albania. We all caused this because we left the solution of the problems of the day to the streets and not to the discussion table, he said.

Asked about the statement issued by REUTER concerning his statement that the PD withdrawal of its ministers from the government is leading to a split in the party, Pashko said that he has the original version of the statement and it is not true that he had expressed himself in this way. I spoke only about the different positions of Mr. Berisha and myself, which I have spoken about in the PD Presidium and National Assembly, he said. Nevertheless, I wish to stress that there are more things uniting Sali Berisha and myself than there are dividing us, he said.

Asked about Neritan Ceka's recent statement, Pashko said that perhaps Ceka was disgusted by the decision to withdraw the ministers from the government. He is, nevertheless, a well-known anticommunist, and I think that his decision to resign is overhasty, he said.

As for the election date, Pashko said that he had always advocated spring elections but the majority decided to hold them earlier, and democracy means a minority obeying the majority.

Asked about Ceka's demand for the president's resignation, he said that the president should make his political position utterly clear, not in interviews but in official statements. The truth is that he has recently remained silent at a time when he should not have done so.

Another question concerned continued food aid. Pashko said that he had appealed to the countries of Europe during his visit to London to not suspend food aid despite the chaotic situation prevailing in Albania. It is a fact that international economic institutions such as the IMF, World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development are, in a sense, backing away, he said. Everything depends on what will be decided concerning the signing of the agreement on 16 December in London. Nevertheless, the government has secured the necessary quantity of wheat and other food products, and it is a fact that this aid is still arriving daily, he said. I am, therefore, confident that the situation will be overcome, Pashko said. Pashko also answered other questions from journalists.

Radio-TV Union Strike Yields 'Historic Victory'*AU0912173791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Statement issued by the Independent Trade Union of Albanian Radio-Television in Tirana on 9 December]

[Text] After 40 days on strike and under the pressure of violence, censorship, and economic difficulties, the Independent Trade Union of Albanian Radio-Television achieved a historic victory in the fulfillment of its main demand for the dismissal of the former directors.

It was decided to end the strike today, after an agreement was reached on the fulfillment of other demands at the first meeting with the new directors.

The Independent Trade Union of Albanian Radio-Television thanks all working collectives, individuals, associations, and political parties who morally and materially supported this strike.

Alia Meets With Trade Union Leaders 9 Dec*AU0912212391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] President Ramiz Alia continued consultations this morning with trade union representatives.

He first met Valer Xheka, chairman of the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions, and other leaders of this organization. The president then met Kastriot Muco, chairman of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and leaders of various federations.

Thanas Kacani, secretary of the Independent Oil Workers Trade Union, and Minela Kuleta, chairwoman of the Independent Trade Union of Albanian Communal Service Workers, also came for meetings.

Democratic Party Statement on Ceka Resignation

*AU0912220491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Statement issued by the Democratic Party Presidium and parliamentary group in Tirana on 9 December]

[Text] The Presidium and parliamentary group of the Democratic Party [PD], analyzing the serious situation that has been created, observes that this situation has deteriorated as a result of the statements made by Mr. Alia and Mr. Buqi on television after the PD's departure from the National Stability Government.

The president, by calling the opposition adventurers, demonstrated his Bolshevik political culture and his appreciation of pluralist society. He threatened the people and the entire country. Prime Minister Buqi, with his statement about bread for six days, at a time when there is a very large quantity of wheat at Bajze, deceived the people and threatened a bread shortage.

These statements, which the PD consider to be acts of psychological mass terrorism, led to bread riots out of fear of famine, mainly in Kruje District and other parts of the country. These were characterized by theft, looting, arson, plunder, and what is worse, the deaths of innocent people. The communist wielders of power staged this new drama with two main intentions: First, they wished to show the people what chaos the PD had created by leaving the government; second, they wished to cover up the commotion caused by the arrest for corruption of Mrs. Hoxha and Mr. Marko, whose trial will clearly prove to the people what the corrupt regime of the dictator Enver Hoxha meant.

The political trap set by President Alia also contributed to the deteriorating situation: On the one hand, he summoned the PD chairman for consultations on overcoming the government crisis on 7 December but, at the same time, he organized and permitted a declaration full of slanders and lies about the PD and its chairman to be read in his presence, thus clearly demonstrating that he has no interest in solving the serious crisis into which the country has plunged, but is determined to gain political capital for himself at all costs.

Even though he has excluded from consultation the country's largest political party and the main opposition force, the PD tells Mr. Alia and the other communist wielders of power that it is aware of their criminal plans,

but warns them and tells the international public that, if they resort to the hatchets of crime, the Albanian people will not forgive them. History will reserve for you the place it has always kept for criminals.

In this complicated situation, Mr. Neritan Ceka's statements are doubtless astonishing and damaging. In connection with his attitude, the PD Presidium and the PD parliamentary group states:

Ceka's work has been of valuable assistance to the development of democracy in our country. He, like every ordinary member or leader of the PD, has and will have the right to freely express his independent ideas freely. This has been and will remain an immutable law in the PD.

However, in this case, we wish to tell Ceka that it is inadmissible for a member of the opposition to issue statements against the PD in the office of Ramiz Alia, who is the main architect of the strategy of violence and terror that aimed to liquidate the PD and cost the lives of dozens of its members and supporters.

It is incomprehensible to us how the deputy chairman of the PD and the chairman of the parliamentary group could fail to call us together to communicate to us his resignation, but conveyed it to us from the office of President Alia, in the course of a political trap against the PD and its chairman.

Ceka or any other member or leader of the party may have conflicts with the party and its leaders, but to leave your post now, a post in which Albanians in Albania and everywhere in the world have placed their hopes and highest ideals, at a moment when the communist wielders of power are trifling with the destiny of the nation, means to open the gates to the demons of antidemocracy and to let down a suffering and hungry but titanic people who are undaunted in their aspirations and ideals. A determined democrat never chooses such a path. To retreat into private life at this moment does you no credit. Any person may make such a decision, but not at such a time: He must postpone it for later. We think that you have made the wrong choice.

In your statements, Mr. Ceka, you claim that the departure from the government was not authorized, because the demands of the declaration of the National Council and the group of PD deputies had been fulfilled. The truth is that these demands were not fulfilled in the sense demanded by the extended aktiv of the National Council and the PD deputies, neither on 3 December or now.

We will analyze them one by one:

1. You call the question of Albanian Radio-Television [RTVSh] solved. However, we remind you that the RTVSh strike continued until 7 December because the director remained the same individual as before. You knew this as well as did all the strikers, but not the

RTVSh strikebreakers. We, as the PD, have not and will not leave without support those who strive for human rights and social justice.

As for the question of the blockmen ["bllokmene," or former Albanian Workers Party leaders], we might say that all Albanians, regardless of their political convictions, have demanded their arrest for corruption and financial scandal. We remind you that former Prime Minister Carcani, accused of corruption, and some of his collaborators still hold mandates as deputies, although the investigator called for their mandates to be revoked as long ago as July. Meanwhile, the other blockmen, implicated in many ways in exoduses and murders at the border, continue to sit in peace in their villas, although arrest warrants for them were signed months ago. For you, the problem seems solved, but for us it remains unsolved, as the PD declaration states.

The other demand raised in the declaration of the National Council and the group of PD parliamentary deputies concerns the trial in connection with the Shkoder massacre. We recall that in this area, between the closure of the trial and its reopening, the same charge sheet remained in force. Specialists say that the trial was merely to throw dust in our eyes, could have taken place anywhere, and was not a reopening of the trial. Meanwhile, Xhemal Dymylja was arrested a very long time after the decision made by the court, and this arrest was obstructed by his accomplices in the crime. For us, for Shkoder, and for all of Albania, our demand has not been met.

It is an indisputable truth that not even the election date has been determined, but it may be guessed.

In conclusion, for us, at dinner on 3 December, none of the demands raised by the declaration of the National Council was fulfilled in the way the declaration demanded, and all because of the obstinacy, radicalism, and intolerance of the communist wielders of power; our demands were submitted months ago, were legitimate, and had the support of the entire people.

In your statement, you, Mr. Ceka, instead of blaming Alia, Bufi, and others for the situation created in the country, accuse Berisha, the PD chairman, and Malasi, chairman of the Tirana Executive Committee.

Mr. Ceka, your attack on Deputy Malasi does not sound at all creditable, but rather spiteful. We all know that the bread crisis was provoked by the statement of Mr. Bufi, while your statement mentions Mr. Malasi, whose work the PD highly values. You attack him solely because he did not agree with you. You and every other person have the right to hold your opinion about leaving the National Stability Government or not, although we must say for the sake of the truth that you voted in favor of this decision on 26 November. No one in a democratic party has the right to impose his view on others. We once again reemphasize that the real culprits for the current government crisis are the ruling communists and not the democrats.

Meanwhile, your attacks on Berisha, significant for their lack of evidence, resemble those of the Laborites [Punistet] and ZERI I POPULLIT. You claim that Berisha acted on his personal initiative, that he went into the talks without a mandate, and that he was pursuing his own aims. The truth is that Berisha acted in full accordance with the declaration of the aktiv of the National Council and the deputies of the PD parliamentary group. His views at the meetings of the government and with the president, and in the trap organized on 7 December, have been correct, and we totally support them. Your claims of the lack of a mandate are absurd. According to the PD Statute, the party chairman represents the party, while you should not have gone to the president without informing the party.

Mr. Ceka, the demand you address to Berisha to absent himself from the political scene is undemocratic. Of course, neither communists nor those who are tendering their resignations can prescribe the place and role of another member in a democratic party and in democratic processes. However, we must say one thing: Your dignity as a deputy demands that you tell the truth.

What obliged you not to make your statement, as you put it, face to face, but in the presence of the president? What impelled you, at these difficult moments for the country, to return to private life? Of course, these are all your personal decisions. The PD will not pursue (old scores) neither on this or on any other attitude you may adopt.

In your resignation statement, you level accusations against the Voice of America. The PD considers the Voice of America to be one of the foreign elements that has exerted powerful influence on the development of democracy in Albania and a real source of information. Moreover, Berisha also handed his statement to Radio Tirana. However, the radio strikebreakers transmitted your statement until midnight, but Berisha's statement not at all.

In the statement and letter you have sent concerning your resignation, you insult the deputies who have uncompromisingly struggled for the establishment of democracy in Albania. You talk about the incompetent and about the intrigues woven in the bosom of the PD, etc.

First, we say that it is unworthy for a deputy to use such terms against other deputies. Moreover, we say that we do not consider you to be incompetent. However, some other reasons may have led your respect for some PD deputies to waver. Thus, in connection with your disagreement with the PD's parliamentary group, we stress the following:

The group of PD deputies has in all cases acted on the decisions and guidelines of the PD and its program. The disagreements between you and the majority of PD deputies began after your trip to Paris in the company of Alia. You did not, in any way, consult the group about this trip, and it astonished them. What was disturbing for the group of PD deputies was the fact that you went

to the meeting with the parliament's Presidency and the Socialist Party's parliamentary group without the presidium of the parliamentary group, and without consulting with it. This led to the group failing to accept the things that you agreed upon.

Thus, the conflicts between you and group deepened, until the point that when they decided to leave the parliament and not to return to approve laws without the solution of the RTVSh issue, you, at the meeting on 18 November, told the group that the PD Presidium's decision was for us not to enter the parliament, but that we as deputies could decide for ourselves.

The truth was that the decision of the PD Presidium was in total accordance with our declaration as deputies not to enter the parliament. Nevertheless, we voted after discussion, and you lost. Even on other occasions, your views were erroneous, and the group decided differently from the way you wished.

Regarding those who are working for others within the PD, we are not aware of them. Our deputies work for democracy. We emphasize that your statements, interviews, and articles have done a not insignificant service to Alia and the communist wielders of power in Albania. They have been treated with great consideration by the media under Kumbaro [former RTVSh general director]. They were concealed only for a moment, [words indistinct] at the time when you read your statement in front of the president. ZERI I POPULLIT, KOHA JONE, and other rags will profit from them for a long time. One thing is certain: This is not the road on which you set out.

Meanwhile, we will continue to move forward, of course without denying any of your merits. What you have done has no doubt disappointed all those honest people who

created your post as an embodiment of their ideals, hopes, and aspirations, some of whom you forced yesterday to declare you a deputy without an electoral base.

In conclusion, we state that we approve your resignation.

Alia To Act on Amnesty International Proposals

*AU0612114191 Tirana ATA in English 1103 GMT
6 Dec 91*

[Text] Tirana, December 6 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Albania Ramiz Alia has received a message from Herver Berger, vice secretary general of the Amnesty International, which says among others:

"Amnesty International considers with pleasure recently that on October 4, 1991 the Republic of Albania adhered to two most fundamental international treaties for the human rights—the international agreement on the civil and political rights and the international agreement on the economic, social and cultural rights.

Amnesty International is encouraged by this step and other changes occurring in Albania in the field of the human rights as compared with the last year. Proceeding from these achievements, Amnesty International wants to see the possibility for membership in the UN Convention Against Torture and Other Coercive Measures, Inhuman Treatment or Sentencing and in the first protocol for the International Agreement on the Civil and Political Rights which allows the UN Committee on the Human Rights to take contact in closed doors with individuals who pretend that there are violations of international agreements".

President Ramiz Alia judged as correct the request of the Amnesty International and charged the respective organs to deal with it.

Ganev Assesses Hungary Visit, Regional Relations*AU0712180691 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG
in Hungarian 4 Dec 91 p 4*

[Interview with Stoyan Ganev, deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister, by Kalman Verebelyi in Budapest on 2 December: "We Were Forced To Take a Second Exam in Democracy"]

[Excerpts] At the end of his one-day negotiations in Budapest, Stoyan Ganev gave an interview to our correspondent. He informed us about his government's stand on various international issues and assessed the long-term prospects of Hungarian-Bulgarian bilateral relations. [passage omitted]

[Verebelyi] Through the Macedonian ethnic group, Bulgaria is indirectly interested in ending the Yugoslav civil war.

[Ganev] We held long discussions with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on the Yugoslav events, and I expressed the Bulgarian Government's worries about the crisis. In my view, the Hungarian and Bulgarian views are basically the same on this issue. The Bulgarian Government continues to represent the views that President Zhelev asserted in Brussels in the summer of 1991. Our president criticized the EC because, in our view, the EC is reacting slowly on the Yugoslav issue. Naturally, we are not in favor of interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, but we think that it is advisable to send peacekeeping forces to the area. A joint effort of the EC, the United Nations, and the countries of the Helsinki process are needed to settle the Yugoslav situation.

If the Yugoslav conflict spread over other borders, it would have incalculable consequences. We have to do our best to prevent that. At the same time, we also have to stop the Yugoslav civil war from spreading to the other member republics. For this very reason, Bulgaria, as a state neighboring Macedonia, would like international observers to be posted at the Bulgarian-Macedonian border, because we would like to avoid giving the impression of Bulgaria interfering in the domestic affairs of Yugoslavia's peoples. This does not mean that we would not recognize the republics that declare their independence but, due to our geopolitical position, we cannot be among the first to do so.

[Verebelyi] Earlier, you mentioned the borders and that they cannot be changed. However, the issue of Dobruja has been brought up again by the Romanian leadership. What is your position on assessing Bucharest's efforts urging for the establishment of a Great Romania?

[Ganev] We relate to the arguments of the Bucharest government seriously and with self-moderation, but we do not take the stories from Romania seriously; rather, they make us think. We hope, though, that it is not the

demand of changing the borders that makes the Romanian politicians play the old record again, but some other reason. Historians rather than politicians should deal with borders.

[Verebelyi] Following your negotiations with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky, how do you see the chances for development in Hungarian-Bulgarian relations?

[Ganev] I believe that my brief visit to Hungary contributes to the political rapprochement of the two countries, and this was helped along by the democratic processes started at the 13 October elections in Bulgaria. I wanted to achieve a change of Bulgaria's traditional image in Hungary, too. Bulgaria is no longer following far behind the democratic systems. Bulgaria is the island of stability in a region laden with crises, and this will probably have a favorable effect on bilateral relations.

Naturally, we will also have to settle the outstanding accounts as soon as possible. The new Bulgarian Government decided to pay its 75 million transferable ruble debt as soon as possible, within realistic possibilities. I would like to inform the readers of UJ MAGYARORSZAG that a law on investment protection and guarantees will be passed in Bulgaria in the coming weeks. This law will be liberal in spirit, which will also offer attractive investment possibilities to Hungarian business circles in Bulgaria. We will mainly open tourism for foreign investors. We have stopped dual taxation between Bulgaria and Hungary, we signed an agreement on investment protection, and a new consular agreement is also helping the development of bilateral relations. The basic agreement between our countries is also nearing completion and we would like Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky to come to Bulgaria to sign it.

Ganev Summarizes Results of Greece, Turkey Tour*AU0812191391 Sofia BTA in English 1816 GMT
8 Dec 91*

["Bulgaria Seeks Cooperation With Balkan Countries"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—"Bulgaria maintains friendly relations with the Balkan countries," Mr. Stoyan Ganev, Bulgaria's deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, said in the Panorama Review on the National Television last night. Mr. Ganev was interviewed in connection with his visits to Turkey and Greece.

"Bulgaria's foreign policy is closely related to the solution of the Balkan problems," Mr. Ganev said. He stressed that Bulgaria does not intend to interfere with the internal affairs of any neighboring country. "Bulgaria is willing to conduct a foreign policy within the framework of the joint efforts of the European Community, of NATO and the CSCE," Mr. Ganev added.

He confirmed that the idea of trilateral meeting was discussed in both Ankara and Athens. However, Mr. Ganev emphasized that if such a meeting is held Bulgaria will not mediate between Turkey and Greece. "The trilateral meeting should not deal with problems that can be solved through bilateral talks," Mr. Ganev said.

Mr. Ganev said that at least five or six important issues related to Bulgarian-Turkish cooperation will be solved over the next few months. A cooperation and security agreement is being drafted which can be signed by the two countries' prime ministers. Among the problems discussed in Ankara Mr. Ganev mentioned those related to the Rezovska River and the control of flights over the Black Sea.

Mr. Ganev assessed highly the development of Bulgarian-Greek relations. He said that existing differences will not obstruct the development of bilateral relations.

The two sides discussed the problem of the Mesta River. An important meeting with businessmen from northern Greece was held. According to Mr. Ganev, agreements on the mutual protection of investment and on double taxation will probably be signed soon.

Ludzhev Visit to Greece Positively Assessed

*AU1012091891 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 2 Dec 91 pp 1, 4*

[Krasimir Uzunov article: "Together We Placed a Small Red Stone"]

[Text] Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev's visit to Greece acquired a special importance against the background of the enhanced foreign policy activity after forming the government of the Union of Democratic Forces. This is a result of at least two factors: The first—the striving of certain circles in Bulgaria to prove that in neighboring Greece, traditionally a good political partner for Bulgaria, distrust toward the character of Bulgarian policy has emerged in recent years, especially in anything related to President Dr. Zhelev, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, and Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev. The second, and indeed more important reason—the attempt to find an opportunity to prove the fact that Bulgarian-Greek relations still have not reached their peak in anything related to the scope of mutual contacts, confidence, and the integration of the two countries' structures.

If one can judge by the results of the visit, both issues were dealt with in a satisfactory manner. Bulgaria and Greece signed an Agreement on Defense Cooperation, which unites the hands of the experts in various areas, and through which we advance from the stage of good intentions to the stage of specific actions. Direct connection was established between the military ministries of Sofia and Athens. This means that the transparency and openness of relations will be proven rather than declared. Talks between experts in purely military spheres have begun. Specific cooperation will begin in

studying and interpreting national military doctrines, determining the military aspect of national security policy, cadre planning policy, scientific activity.... Special attention will be devoted to the participation of the Greek Ministry of National Defense in reorganizing and modernizing the Bulgarian Army.

It became apparent that despite mutual assurances of friendship and cooperation, the "Bulgarian-Greek example" of relations between states could be further developed and manifested. Transferring defense cooperation from the sphere of declarations and bon ton to the sphere of specific obligations, incorporated in the document that as signed, was one of the most important elements of Minister Ludzhev's visit.

As far as the political resonance of the visit is concerned, it is indicative that the triad "Zhelev, Ludzhev, Dimitrov," repeated with such touching consistency, has disappeared from the pages of the Greek press. This triad was painfully reminiscent of the "Stalin, Tito, Dimitrov" triad, and was aimed at shocking the Greeks with the pro-Turkish and pro-U.S. policy conducted by Bulgaria, which was considered a friend. The successful meetings of Minister Ludzhev at the Ministry of National Defense and the talks with Samaras and Mitsotakis dispersed the doubts of the Greek mass media, while the polite and tolerant attitude of the Bulgarian minister toward the accredited journalists showed that he does not distinguish between the political affiliation of the various publications. Thus, interviews with the Bulgarian defense minister appeared in *ELEVTEROTIPIA* (a weekly and daily), *I KATHIMERINI*, and on *SKY* and *FLASH*. The television crews checked the openness of the new Bulgarian Government also at the airports and the museums.

In a word, the Bulgarian defense minister kept the promise he made upon his arrival in the Greek capital about conducting specific, precise, frank, and competent talks. The polite hosts were surprised by the behavior of Mr. Ludzhev's wife, who violated the tradition established by the wives of our former military leaders and preferred the Schliemann Museum to the stores of Athens' top commercial district, Plaka.

The Bulgarian defense minister's visit to Athens is part of Bulgaria's changing policy. This policy aims at creating friends, rather than seeking enemies, and it threatens no one's security. As [Greek poet and novelist] Kazantzakis said: "...I also placed my small red stone and strengthened it with a drop of blood, so that it does not perish, so that I do not perish. I fulfilled my duty...." In Athens, together, we placed our small red stone...."

Ganev Says Romania Talks of 'Major Importance'

*AU1012083291 Sofia BTA in English 2000 GMT
9 Dec 91*

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Assessing his talks with Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase today, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev described

them as "an event of major importance for the further promotion of Bulgaro-Romanian relations."

The two countries' environment ministers, Mr. Valentin Vasilev of Bulgaria and Mr. Marcian Bleahu of Romania, today signed an intergovernmental convention on environmental protection. It sets the beginning of a settlement of the long-standing bilateral environmental problem. Both sides expressed the conviction that no more time should be wasted on the matter.

The first step towards the implementation of the convention was taken right away with the signing of a protocol on the establishment of an intergovernmental commission which will start work after the convention enters into force. The sides also signed two letters to the World Health Organization and Operation PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] which will help fulfil the Bulgaro-Romanian environmental programme.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev said that the open and friendly atmosphere of the talks made it possible to address a number of urgent concerns. An agreement was reached to lay down mechanisms for the settlement of specific problems, including the drafting of agreements on the avoidance of double taxation and reciprocal investment protection and a cultural cooperation plan.

Today the Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and Environment Minister Marcian Bleahu were received by President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov.

At these meetings, as well as at the talks with Mr. Stoyan Ganev, the sides agreed on the resumption next week of the work of an expert team drafting a new Bulgaro-Romanian treaty. "The signing of the treaty is forthcoming and there are no obstacles whatsoever except some technicalities," the presidential spokesman said after the talks. He believes the treaty will be probably signed before the end of the year.

The Romanian foreign minister today reassured the Bulgarian leaders that Romania has no territorial designs on Bulgaria. "I would like you to hear from me that Bulgaria [as received] lays no territorial claims to Bulgaria," he said, speaking at a brief news conference before his departure. "I can tell you in all sincerity that we in Bucharest think there is absolutely no reason to raise this subject."

In his view, the talks in Sofia identified the test for the pursuit of bilateral relations. This is the environmental problem to which particularly great political importance is attached. "I think we proved that we can discuss these problems quite responsibly. The two governments are in a position to take their responsibility and show wisdom in solving such problems. We also discussed how to maintain better political contacts," Mr. Nastase said.

"We got convinced that we must also maintain closer contacts and exchange views on the situation in the region and in Europe," the Romanian foreign minister said.

Government Consider EFTA Protocol, RSA Ties

*AU1012095091 Sofia BTA in English 0923 GMT
10 Dec 91*

[Excerpt] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—One of the longest meetings of the new Bulgarian Government went late into the night, with over 20 items on the agenda.

The government decided to sign a declaration on the promotion of cooperation with EFTA [European Free Trade Association] at the forthcoming meeting of Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs with the ministers of the EFTA member-states in Geneva December 10-11.

Bulgaria will establish diplomatic relations at the ambassador level with South Africa. The government assigned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to appoint a delegation for the talks.

Poland's draft agreement to the intergovernmental protocol on payments in connection with the transition from transferable-ruble to dollar accounting starting April 29, 1992 was approved as a basis of negotiations. [passage omitted]

Government Reply to Deutsche Bank Letter on Debt

*AU1012083391 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT
9 Dec 91*

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—A reserved response, Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov told the press today, referring to the letter the Bulgarian Government sent in reply to Deutsche Bank. Last week Deutsche Bank, which chairs the Bank Advisory Committee, sent a letter to the government demanding guarantees for this country's foreign debt as a pre-condition for starting negotiations on the rescheduling of its debt.

As Minister Kostov said, the Bulgarian Government wrote in reply that it "will seek to provide such guarantees when the creditor banks specify the conditions for rescheduling and converting Bulgaria's foreign debt."

We are surprised by the letter of Deutsche Bank because some months ago the creditor banks said they would not seek such guarantees, Mr. Ivan Kostov said and described the letter as "a conspicuous political inadvertence, having in mind that Bulgaria has a new government now. According to him creditor banks behaved as if nothing has happened in Bulgaria, which is far from being the truth. "The old system does not exist in Bulgaria any more and this is a fact."

Mr. Ivan Kostov also said that the previous government failed to do the necessary arrangements for reaching an agreement with the creditor banks on the debt. We want

to change this strategy, we wish to make arrangements with the banks within a short time and I believe that there are all the economic and political prerequisites for it, the minister of finance said.

He said that Bulgaria is indebted to 208 creditor banks—mainly German, Japanese and Austrian.

Positive Trade Balance With Russia Noted

AU1012090991 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
30 Nov-1 Dec 91 p 8

[Valentin Tanev report: "Russia Recognizes Its Debts to Sofia; Trade Goes Well"]

[Text] Russia will supply Bulgaria with 1 million tonnes of oil, 250,000 tonnes of mazut, gasoline, timber, rolled steel, aluminum, and brown coal by the end of the year in exchange for 40,000 tonnes of meat and canned meats, 20,000 tonnes of canned fruits and vegetables, cigarettes, and wine, Stefan Nyanchev announced. He is an expert in the Bulgarian economic delegation that has just returned from Moscow. It was agreed that some of the supplies would be delivered at the beginning of 1992.

Our positive trade balance with the former Soviet Union stands at \$222 million, after Russia's representatives officially confirmed that they will pay their share. How big this share is will be assessed when the foreign debt and the internal economic obligations between the former republics are apportioned.

Rozvneshtorg is empowered by the Russian Government to sign all contracts and agreements with Bulgarian companies and the Bulgarian side is represented by Khimimport.

The former Soviet Union's Vneshekonombank closed its letters of credit for paying for Bulgarian goods because its negative balance of payment had reached its critical limit, Mr. Nyanchev emphasized.

The type and amount of trade for 1992 between Bulgaria and Russia has been determined as well as the mechanism for payment. It is almost certain that the two sides will also agree on payments being in national currency when the Russian delegation visits Sofia at the end of December.

The agreement for protecting investments and for abolishing double taxation was prepared during the negotiations.

Podkrepa Withdraws From SDS Coordinating Council

AU0612190591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Report by Petur Donchev on meeting of Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation in Sofia on 6 December—recorded]

[Text] The Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation ended its session only seconds ago. Podkrepa is leaving the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

Taking into consideration the wish expressed by the regional and professional organizations of Podkrepa, and in the belief that regular consultations are a sufficient generally acceptable trade union form of partnership with the political forces, the Podkrepa Confederative Council decided to withdraw its status of observer at the SDS Coordinating Council. It instructs the Podkrepa Executive Council, jointly with the SDS National Consultative Council [as heard], to find a suitable form for maintaining permanent contact and preserving the fraternal relations between the two organizations.

In connection with the issue of social partnership and the future relations with the government, the Podkrepa Confederative Council has decided to recommend to the government that it should take a most serious view of the possibility of the social dialogue being interrupted. The council recommends that the government should assist in creating mechanisms for social dialogue, with rights and responsibilities corresponding to previous ones, voicing the belief that if the government breaches the social partnership, it will bear the entire guilt and responsibility for the consequences.

Finally, the letter from Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov to the Confederative Council concerning the sit-in at the former Bistritsa residence was read and discussed in detail at the session. The Confederative Council voted by 48 to one to continue the sit-in until Podkrepa obtained that building or another suitable one to house the International Trade Union Training Center.

KNSB's Petkov Views Property Confiscation

AU0912122891 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
5 Dec 91 pp 1, 2, 3

[Interview with Professor Krustyo Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Governments Come and Go, Trade Unions Remain"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [TRUD] Has the language you have used against Mr. Konstantin Trenchev in the past not been too strong? After all, he too is a trade union figure?

[Petkov] Trenchev is as much a trade union figure as I am a cosmonaut. Unfortunately, the brutal attack on "Trenchevism" in recent days opens a new page in Bulgaria's most recent history—the period of obscurantism. Obedient mayors and paid agents of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation occupy property of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB], or sign orders on confiscating this property, as was the case in Ruse, Samokov, Kostenets, and other places, without awaiting the legal decision. They declare

"We are the law," and apply it immediately on the spot by force. Their goal is to intimidate the opponent and guarantee the triumph of their new dictatorship.

National Assembly members, bought by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, whose declarations on loyal service are kept in the office of the new leader, obediently come to receive their instructions on how to adopt the law on confiscating the property of the single democratic and independent trade union in Bulgaria—the KNSB. [passage omitted]

[TRUD] At your 4 December meeting with Mr. Filip Dimitrov, you presented a series of facts related to crass violations of the country's laws on the part of the executive power against the property of KNSB organizations and leaders. What legal arguments did you use?

[Petkov] The KNSB inherited property valued at almost 300 million leva (assessed according to the old prices). Without being forced by anyone, in accordance with a decision of the Constituent Congress, in 1990 we returned property and departments to the tune of 200 million leva to the state. We are prepared to divide what is left with the Podkrepa Labor Confederation trade union organizations. If disputes emerge, they could and should be resolved by the court, which is the only organ that has the legal right to pass judgment on our legitimacy as owners. The division with Podkrepa must take place upon a single principle—the number of members. [passage omitted]

[TRUD] What will the KNSB do if, in spite of everything, a law on confiscation is adopted?

[Petkov] The easiest will be to bow our head, but this will mean the direct dismantling of the KNSB. This means the end of the cause which we champion, and the end of the faith that was born in the people, namely, that they have a defender of their socioeconomic interests.

My personal opinion is that we have two choices left. The first is to answer the illegal acts with firmness and disrespect for the laws that have been adopted for political reasons, and thus represent an antidemocratic act. We have enough trade union means of defense. However, this will mean exploding not only social, but also civic peace. Who would benefit from this now that we are in the midst of the presidential election campaign, when the government is objectively interested in preserving its reform policy under conditions of social peace, and with a difficult winter ahead?

The other possibility is to begin again from the point zero—by holding meetings in apartments and using the "savings of our parents." In other words, we could repeat the model that has been demonstrated in the last two years by the other center, which continues to call itself trade union. We will be in a more favorable situation, because the KNSB organizations in the companies, enterprises, and departments exist and cannot be dissolved. They cannot confiscate or nationalize 2.5 million people. They cannot violate their rights and civic and

trade union convictions, and smash their souls. We will still have many powerful organizations and a center that will preserve the name KNSB. However, then we will be a different trade union, one that will defend trade union interests in conflict, rather than in agreement, with the state. Perhaps the world will laugh then, and we will be sad, although not crestfallen. We simply will not be the same organization that we are today. [passage omitted]

Lilov Claims Property Bill 'Blow Against BSP'

AU0612200991 Sofia BTA in English 1715 GMT
6 Dec 91

[Report by BTA correspondent Iva Toncheva: "On the Communist Party's Property"]

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—Parliament started debating today the bill on the reversion of the property illegally acquired by the Socialist (ex-Communist) Party and its satellite organizations in totalitarian times. The bill was submitted by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

The bill lays claims to the successors of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, the Fatherland Front, the Organization of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, which ruled in coalition with the Communists, and the official trade unions.

Under the bill this property is declared unlawful and is confiscated for the benefit of the state. The property liable to confiscation includes real property and real rights, movables, securities, receipts, money, shares in commercial partnerships, companies and contributions to non-profit organizations.

"It is not the entire property of the listed organizations that will go to the state but only the portion acquired in the totalitarian period," the Legislative Committee stated. In 1991 the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) declared before parliament that its property amounted to 640 million leva, while in 1990 it set up companies with an authorized capital totalling 299 million leva. Two days before the renaming of the Dimitrov Young Communist League it set up companies with an authorized capital of 80 million leva. "While the country and the people grew poor, a party and its satellite organizations grew rich," SDS leader Filip Dimitrov, Bulgaria's prime minister, said in parliament today during the debates.

This is the first bill submitted by the SDS after it became a ruling coalition. It is accompanied by a list of buildings and companies of the BSP. BSP leaders and the Socialist press launched a campaign against it as soon as it was submitted to parliament. It was declared "fascist," "repressive," and "an attempt at eliminating the party."

It is expressly stated in the bill that it does not apply to real property obtained by the Communist Party in 1944 (when the Communists came into power) in compensation for property confiscated in 1934.

"The bill is a political blow against the BSP," BSP leader Aleksandur Lilov said in parliament today. He had not been there for a week because he was probably busy preparing the Socialists' congress which will be held from December 14 through 16. "You are also using state property, you received millions of dollars, it is a fact that the United States is financing you," Mr. Lilov said, addressing the SDS. The parliamentary majority chanted "BCP, BCP" (Bulgarian Communist Party), in reply.

The Socialist Party claimed repeatedly recently that it had reverted property to the state and that it had money from membership fees. "Between 1986 and 1990 the party collected 440 million leva in membership fees, while it spent 611 million leva," said Mr. Ilko Eskenazi, chief of the Parliamentary Commission Controlling the Political Parties' Incomes, Outlays and Property. The press has already published facts proving that the Communist Party received state subsidies for the huge building of its headquarters in Sofia's centre.

A rally against the bill was held yesterday. Some thirty people chanted "fascist act" in front of the building of parliament today. The bill will be put to vote early next week. It will probably be passed by the end of next week, when the BSP will hold its congress, which may anticipate events by returning the illegally acquired property to the state.

The Bulgarian cabinet approved a draft amendment to the Political Parties Act yesterday, barring parties from business. If parliament passes it, publishing will remain the only sphere open to parties. Finance Minister Ivan Kostov filed a claim for 1,800 million leva on the BSP and other organizations.

Parliament passed on first reading yesterday a bill on "small" restitution, applying to small shops, ateliers and stores. Their owners had to sell them at low prices to the state in 1975 after having received absurdly low rents for years. According to experts, over 100,000 outlets are subject to restitution under this act.

'No Serious Rival' to Zhelev in Election Campaign

AU0612201591 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT
6 Dec 91

[Report by BTA correspondent Mariya Velkovska:
"Zhelyu Zhelev Has No Serious Rival Yet"]

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—Saturday, 7 PM is the deadline for the registration of the candidates in the presidential elections. So far the Central Electoral Commission has received the documents of 16 teams.

So far the list of candidates suggests that Zhelyu Zhelev and Blaga Dimitrova will have no serious rivals in the January 12 elections.

It is for the first time that the Bulgarians will elect their head of state directly. After becoming the first noncommunist president of Bulgaria in the summer of 1990,

following almost half a century of totalitarian rule, with the support of the Union of Democratic Forces and of other democratic formations, Dr. Zhelev stands a good chance of becoming the first president elected by the people. Some of the Socialists (ex-Communists) in the former National Assembly helped him assume the presidential post but now this party has repeatedly stated that it would not support his candidature because he was incapable of uniting the nation and was not impartial to the political forces, according to the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

Zhelyu Zhelev's serious rival will become known tomorrow, politicians and analysts close to the BSP predict. They mention "two worthy patriots who will unite the nation and will not have party predilections." Several teams correspond to this formula, all gravitating towards the BSP and with nationalist convictions. In its campaign for the local and parliamentary elections this autumn the BSP staked on the nationalist card.

There are also nationalists among the already registered candidates. These are the leader of the National Radical Party, Ivan Georgiev, and Krum Kumanov, nominated by the "Spasenie" (Salvation) Campaign Alliance of the Bulgarian Fatherland Party and the Movement for Democracy and Social Justice (the former communist Organization of the Fighters Against Capitalism and Fascism).

Among the presidential candidates there are also personalities promising to lend an amusing note to the campaign. As a rule they were nominated by "ghost" parties. In connection with these candidates a TV journalist offered to include a text in the Electoral Law requiring that the candidates present a mental health certificate before being registered.

As it is the presidential candidates are quite a few, bearing in mind that Bulgaria has a population of eight million. And the Electoral Commission turned down some candidates who in violation of the law had nominated themselves. One of them wrote that his dream was to become president, irrespective of which political force supports him—the SDS or the BSP.

SDS 'Founders' Reject Zhelev, Dimitrova Candidacy

AU1012092791 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
3 Dec 91 p 1

[Dora Chichkova report: "Union of Democratic Forces Founders Reject the Zhelev-Dimitrova Duo"]

[Text] Several founding members of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) who recently rallied in the Bulgarian Democratic Center, still respect Zhelyu Zhelev and Blaga Dimitrova as individuals, but cannot support them as politicians. This was expressed at yesterday's news conference. The Bulgarian Democratic Center is expected to propose its own candidates for the posts of president and vice president within the next few days.

Bulgaria has no time to experiment with politicians who make a statement and then feel obliged to explain what they meant, Valentin Tserovski, deputy chairman of the center, pointed out.

Until the very last moment, the members of the Bulgarian Democratic Center hoped that Zhelyu Zhelev would be capable of uniting the nation and present himself as the champion of national interests. He did not betray us, he betrayed himself, Aleksandur Karakachanov declared. The leader of the Green Party is convinced that the president is a spineless individual, who does not have the strength to defend his own democratic convictions. He has actually accepted all the humiliating conditions imposed on him by a political force whose democratic principles could be seriously questioned, Karakachanov stressed.

As far as Blaga Dimitrova is concerned, the former deputies of the Grand National Assembly cannot forgive her for the curse she put on them during the dramatic summer months of 1991 when the fate of the parliamentary system was being decided. It was Zhelyu Zhelev himself who persuaded us to remain in parliament and adopt the Constitution, Karakachanov recalls. The Bulgarian Democratic Center is convinced that someone who fought against the Constitution should not be vice president, and the center expressed this opinion in a conversation with Zhelyu Zhelev two days before he was summoned to the meeting of the SDS National Coordinating Council.

Mr. Zhelev's declaration that he would reconsider his candidacy for the post of president if he were not be supported by all democratic and noncommunist forces in the country was also brought up at the news conference. Nevertheless, this is not the first promise broken by Mr. President, the speakers at the news conference added.

Arsenal Strike, Bistritsa Sit-In Continue

*AU1012082891 Sofia BTA in English 1954 GMT
9 Dec 91*

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—About four thousand workers at the "Arsenal," a company of the industrial military complex in the town of Kazanluk (Southern Bulgaria), are on strike. The deadline set by Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev and Minister of Industry and Trade Ivan Pushkarov for calling off the strike expired today. The ministers stated that if the strike is not called off, they will move for switching the military plant to war-time footing as a result of which the strikers will be mobilized. The workers are on strike because they want higher wages. Every single day of the strike costs "Arsenal" one million dollars. A televised report showed that the strike was not called off. It has been going on for a week now.

The sit-in strike at the Bistritsa Residence declared by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation has been going on for a week too. Podkrepa wants to establish a trade union

centre there. Last Friday Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov sent a letter to Podkrepa insisting on calling off the sit-in, but Podkrepa did not yield.

The sit-in strike at Bistritsa confirmed the impression that there is a dissent in this influential trade union organization.

Today the newly established Consultative Council of the Podkrepa Trade Unions came out with a declaration in which it is said that the leader of the sit-in at Bistritsa is not a member of the trade union but one of the personal bodyguards of Podkrepa's leader, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev. The council distances itself from the "unlawful actions" at Bistritsa and calls on the prosecuting magistracy to intervene. "The sittings of the Podkrepa Confederative Council are manipulated," the declaration reads.

Ludzhev Heads Arms Control, Export Commission

*AU1012112691 Sofia BTA in English
1030 GMT 10 Dec 91*

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—The minister of defence, Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, is the new chairman of the Commission for Control Over Arms and Military Equipment Manufacture and Trade.

"Some companies keep selling arms behind the back of the government but we have committed ourselves to bringing such activities under control," Mr. Ludzhev told the press last night. "Bulgaria should give up the practice which made it notorious as a smuggler in arms and gain some civilized experience in this field," he said.

According to Mr. Ludzhev several cases of illegal arms trade by Bulgarian companies have already been uncovered. An unidentified aircraft carrying weaponry recently landed at the Sofia Airport and no one knew where the cargo came from nor who it was destined for. From now on a licence issued by the commission will be required for all transactions.

Over ten companies have applied for licences to trade in arms, but according to Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev the origin of these companies is unclear. In his opinion, the notorious Kintex should be deprived of the right to arms trade.

The minister of defence is going to suggest the establishment of a joint-stock company by the producers of weaponry and military equipment which will receive state orders, thus eliminating the mediation of trading companies.

Mr. Ludzhev also intends to move before the government for restoring the commission investigating the activity of the former state security. The commission was set up by the previous cabinet and was co-chaired by Mr. Ludzhev himself and Mr. Aleksandur Tomov of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

BSP's Yonchev Criticizes New Security Policy

AU0612185191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
2 Dec 91 p 6

[Article by Dimitur Yonchev, member of the Presidium of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP, Supreme Council: "Too Many Words On the 'National Security' Market"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Andreev (presidential adviser) has already explained to Bulgarian Television viewers twice that the United States is the place to look for guarantees to safeguard our national security. In his former life as a colonel, the gentleman in question expressed exactly the opposite views on where to look for such guarantees—naturally, he was convinced that the USSR was the right place. The man is not to be blamed, the circumstances have changed.

Someone called Alex Aleksiev (from the Rand Corporation) has a perfectly clear idea on what we should do with our Army. We will obediently follow his advice, just as we would have listened to someone called Aleksey Alekseyev in the past. The most convenient thing, however, is that we need not replace the people who are expected to follow the advice. In the past, Colonel Ganchev (who is the former and present editor in chief of the Army daily) was a follower of the Soviet military school, while today he is an admirer of the U.S. school. In addition to this, he is against the traditional promotion structure in the Army, as he pointed out in an article that appeared in the 26 November issue of BULGARSKA ARMIYA. It is evident that Colonel Ganchev, like General Andreev, has changed his opinions. Today he enthusiastically praises the officers who pursued a straightforward career from platoon commanders to generals, while he seems to suffer from total amnesia when it comes to his own advancement, namely that he achieved his rank in a less conventional way, starting from the middle and not the lowest rank. The man is not to be blamed, the circumstances have changed.

A young man who writes for the daily DEMOKRATSIYA under the name of Lieutenant Krasimir Uzunov, heaps insults on DUMA journalist Vasil Popov because the latter dared to express doubts about the reliability and absolute truthfulness of U.S. military experts' statements, about Dimitur Ludzhev's and General Andreev's words. The boy is right, especially considering that his own life story proves the correctness of his assessment. He was a candidate for the National Assembly elections and announced on television that he is leaving the Army. Today we learned that he has joined again. If this is so, I congratulate him. Very few people (with one exception—namely Lieutenant Uzunov himself) are capable of such flexibility. Nevertheless, the man is not to be blamed, the circumstances have changed.

A certain Captain Blagoev, writing for the daily PODKREPA, calls for an immediate disbanding of the "security forces...." Presumably, he prefers insecurity forces instead. I understand his motivations. He declared that,

after serving 10 years in the security forces, writing dissertations, and attending numerous meetings and talks, he became convinced of the total lack of professionalism in those forces. "There are exceptions, but they only prove the general rule," he points out in his article. Therefore he urges Defense Minister Ludzhev: "Minister, do not hesitate to do away with the present security structures. I, and numerous people who share my views, are expecting you to be firm on this matter." The numerous people, of course, are the "exceptions" who prove the rule. The rest of the "majority" are only a "few," but they deserve that the current "acting security structures" be eliminated for their sake. I agree with the man that good-for-nothings have existed and do exist in our country (nowadays, however, it seems that talented and competent people exist only among the members of the Union of Democratic Forces).

Nevertheless, how should we make a selection? By establishing a commission perhaps? The commission could include a local trade union committee chairman, a party secretary, and a supervisor—no, pardon me, according to the current fashion they would be called "special control commissions, composed of an equal number of professionals and civilians." Excellent—let us call them "special commissions" (and why not extraordinary ones?) Half of the members are supposed to be professionals (this is where the "exceptions" to the rule would come from), while the other half, the nonprofessionals, are described as "civilians," just for the sake of adding a soft touch to the whole affair. (Actually, what do we need the civilians for, perhaps to emphasize the mass character of the commissions, or maybe for some other reason?) I presume that our brave candidate for parliament only a few years ago had this thought about the "mass character" constantly on his mind. Naturally, it is not true, I am only joking. The man is not to be blamed, the circumstances have changed.

A certain Ivanov (presidential adviser) appeared on the screen in the "Open Studio" television program only a few days ago. As a participant in a discussion on the subject of national security he most "brilliantly" coped with all the questions he was asked. I cannot imagine what prompted him to volunteer for the post of adviser on national security questions, but if, on the grounds of structural changes, he should be forced to work in some other, similar field, such as pharmaceuticals, for example, or if, as someone wrote once upon a time, he should become "a bird watcher who is capable of solving all problems" he, being a universal expert, could fill any job whatsoever, as he convinced us on the occasion. Answering the "top secret" question about who should be in charge of drafting our country's national security concept, he named the following two institutions: Parliament, in the first place, and the National Security Council, in the second. Congratulations, sir.

What he said about parliament being responsible for national security—I totally agree with him, but why did he not inquire about the whereabouts of parliament

members? We were at home, watching television. Therefore, we can say that we participated in the discussion, to a certain extent. Well, let us proceed further.

The fact is that the National Security Council is absolutely not the organ entitled to draft a national security concept, or any other concept whatsoever (this is what the Constitution says, Mr. Adviser!). The National Security Council is an advisory organ, Mr. Adviser. You will excuse me for contradicting you.

The same gentleman pompously announced that we should be pleased to establish a total harmony of interests in the approach of the United States and Europe to Bulgaria, and that this harmony could be defined as an ardent wish for Bulgaria's stability. Thank you again, and congratulations to you!

Mr. Ivanov also mentioned some things that he finds very disturbing and even distressing. He complained about some indelicate insinuations claiming that the new defense minister was no military expert. Such shocking insults evoked his righteous indignation. For heaven's sake! This also happens in other countries, he exclaimed. Does it really? Do they have the same legislation as ours? Do they also look for a person who, until a few months ago, never had anything to do with military affairs? If this is so, they must be quite backward—I would even say—desolate countries. I have nothing against Mr. Ludzhev. The man is not to be blamed, the circumstances have changed.

As far as Mr. Ivanov is concerned, I am not accusing him of anything. He is not a fool, the more so since he was not alone in expressing such opinions. Another young man, namely Dimitur Nikolov, participated in the discussion. I remember him as a captain in the Army. We were both delegates to the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Congress. (He will forgive me for mentioning the BCP!). Today, he is being introduced as chief of Minister Dimitur Ludzhev's chancery. Chapeau, Monsieur [Congratulations, Sir]. I am addressing you in this way as a pure "Francophone" [ironic allusion to President Zhelev recently attending the Paris Conference of French-speaking countries].

The novelty for me as former chairman of the Commission on National Security in the previous National Assembly was to learn that a policy on national security has already been adopted. Even a relevant document on the question is supposed to exist. This is even more interesting, in view of the fact that I, as one of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) leaders, should be in the possession of that document. Well, let us blame the postal service for the omission. This is most convenient. What I found even more interesting, however, was Mr. Nikolov's statement that the concepts "national security" and "national defense" are not supposed to coincide. As a matter of fact, they do not coincide at all in our country today! This being so, we should stop wasting our

time with debates on Ludzhev being a civilian. Naturally, he should be a civilian since the two things do not coincide. Reproaches are irrelevant in this context, Mr. Nikolov said.

It was really a brilliant performance. We understood that if Mr. Ludzhev was minister of national security (which is the broader concept of the two, since national security involves ecology and economy under the form of foreign investments, as we were instructed), then he had better be a civilian. (Why not establish such a ministry in that case?). However, if he was minister of defense...then...again, he had better be a civilian. This is what we were told.

Let me add a personal remark: The idea of a civilian defense minister also appeals to me. However, in the first place, this should be supported by the appropriate legal measures and, in the second place, we should appoint a man who is prepared for the job and has acquired adequate experience and skill in political leadership, especially in the defense sector, rather than someone who spent his time studying the development of the Bulgarian intelligentsia from half a century ago, as Mr. Ludzhev did. (By the way, Mr. So and So, which ministry would you decline if it was offered to you?) This thought, in parenthesis, just crossed my mind, and is not directed against any of the persons I am now thinking about. (Author's note).

Young Nikolov, who is evidently a fast thinker and a profound analyst, opened the eyes of our public on some rather confusing matters. He definitely confirmed that the well-known National Security Council exerts control over national security issues. He had precisely the president's Security Council in mind, the one that has no executive functions whatsoever, but is only entitled to advise the president. According to Mr. Nikolov, the council is supposed to exert control. Let us recall that, according to adviser Ivanov, the same council is supposed to draft the national security concept. Well, long live the council, because if something should happen to disrupt it, there would be neither a concept, nor control.

Today we cannot blame Mr. Nikolov for the things he is saying, for how should he know better? Things were different in the past, we had other worries, and other securities. The man is not to be blamed. The circumstances have changed.

I realize that I singled out only a few voices in the large choir on the market of our national security. No one could catch all of the innumerable voices. This discordant, but large choir clearly reveals the hidden "talents" of Bulgarians in all the numerous spheres in which we are total failures.

Nevertheless, I hope to have at least singled out a few very characteristic voices so as to make the public understand what kind of strange songs some people are singing about national security. I only hope that it will never be a song of woe. Last, but not least—let everyone understand that people are not to be blamed. The

circumstances have changed. The same applies to national security. Poor national security, it should not be blamed, only the circumstances have changed.

New Academy of Sciences Chairman Elected

*AU1012083691 Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT
9 Dec 91*

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Academician Yordan Malinovski, 68, was elected president of the Bulgarian

Academy of Sciences by secret ballot at a general meeting of the academy today. Dr. Malinovski is a world-renowned physical chemist. He is a D.Sc. (chem) and has authored or co-authored some 150 scientific communications on solid state physics, photographic processes and crystal growth. Academician Malinovski is an honorary member of the British Royal Photographic Society, a member of the American Society of Photographic Sciences and of other authoritative researcher organizations.

Vavrousek Urges Compromise on Gabčíkovo Project*AU0912141391 Prague CSTK in English 1156 GMT
5 Dec 91*

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CSTK)— By unilaterally ceasing work on the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Danube dam project while failing to submit or propose a viable alternative solution, Hungary has placed Czechoslovakia in the "role of the... guilty one, threatening environmental catastrophe."

Czechoslovak Minister-Chairman of the Federal Environment Committee Josef Vavrousek wrote this today in an open letter to the president, premier, chairman of parliament, and environment minister of both Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

The Hungarian Government has officially not responded to any of the alternatives to completing the dam put forth by the Czechoslovak side and has refused the involvement of experts from the European Community, Vavrousek pointed out.

Furthermore, by breaking off the intergovernmental negotiations with the ultimatum that Czechoslovakia cease all further work on the project, Hungary has made Czechoslovakia out to be "the potential guilty one," he writes.

Vavrousek said there is no doubt the entire project is burdened by the period of its origin (under communist governments in both countries - ed.) and that it does not adequately respect the region's environment. But, he writes, "We cannot overlook the fact that the Gabčíkovo water works on the territory of the CSFR is now practically completed."

Originally agreed by the two countries in 1977, work on the dam began in May 1978 but was stopped in Nagymaros under pressure from Hungarian environmental groups in August 1989.

More than 40 square kilometers of Czechoslovakia's most fertile soil has been destroyed, the microclimate of the entire Zitny Island region has been altered, and the ecological balance of the Danube basin is being seriously disturbed, Vavrousek notes.

"From the economic point of view, however, one cannot ignore either the enormous volume of financial resources that have already been invested in the dam, or the reality that the Danube is an important renewable source of alternative energy."

In an open letter sent today to Slovak Government officials, Czechoslovak Environment Minister Josef Vavrousek recommended they work out proposals for putting the Gabčíkovo dam into operation with the least possible negative impact on the environment.

The Czechoslovak portion of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Danube dam project is nearly finished, but the project as a whole is being held up by Hungary's reluctance to

finish its section. As a result of pressure from environmental protection groups, work on the Hungarian part of the project was halted in August 1989, eleven years after construction began.

"I am convinced that for a number of important political, ecological, social, and economic reasons it is necessary to break this vicious circle of mistrust between Czechoslovakia and Hungary," Vavrousek wrote. He said current talks on the project are "leading to a dead end that is threatening the relations between the two countries."

He wrote that he thinks the Hungarian Government will withdraw the ultimatum it issued on Monday, when it threatened to cancel the 1977 agreement between the two countries to build the dam unless Czechoslovakia promised not to take any unilateral steps on the project.

Dienstbier Reacts to Calls for Ruthenia's Return*AU1012084291 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Dec 91
p 2*

[CSTK report: "Will Subcarpathian Ruthenia Be Returned?"]

[Text] Prague— The possibility of opening a Czechoslovak consulate on the territory of Subcarpathian Ruthenia is not out of the question, should there be sufficient interest in it. This was stated by CSFR Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier in an interview with a CSTK correspondent yesterday. Asked whether it is possible to consider the return of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, he said that Czechoslovakia is bound by international conventions and the Helsinki Final Act. It therefore does not believe that the solution to problems lies in the changing of borders but, rather, in their step-by-step removal. "Should the population of Subcarpathian Ruthenia have such an interest and should it express this interest in a democratic way, then it would be possible to negotiate this issue with them as well as with the Ukrainian leadership. However, so far they have not expressed that interest in this way," Minister Dienstbier added.

Rychetsky on Human Rights Aspects of PRC Visit*AU1012100891 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Dec 91 pp 1, 15*

[Zdenek Porybny Beijing dispatch: "A Certain Hope for an Upturn in Czechoslovak-Chinese Relations"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Federal Deputy Prime Minister P. Rychetsky told Czechoslovak journalists that he had the "delicate task" of explaining to the Chinese side the Czechoslovak Government's stand on the issue of human rights. Its delicacy lay in the very fact that, last February, a letter from President Havel concerning human rights in China was presented to the Chinese leadership, to which the Chinese leadership has not yet

replied. This fact alone represents the Chinese leadership's telling reaction to the letter. On the other hand, as Rychetsky pointed out, China, with its more than a billion people, is a country that gives us the chance to offset the losses that we have incurred by the disintegration of the Soviet market.

Our delegation in Beijing tried to get out of this vexed diplomatic situation by not backing away from its principled approach to the human rights issue while at the same time trying to avoid specific disputes. In separate talks with the Chinese minister of justice and the vice chairman of parliament, Rychetsky explained the CSFR's approach to human rights, which is based on the universal concept of human rights. It follows from this concept that a state that respects the freedom of its own people also respects the freedom and sovereignty of other countries. Likewise, relations of true equality between states can be achieved only via the equality of individuals within these states.

On the other hand, neither Prime Minister Calfa nor any other member of our government delegation presented to the Chinese side a list of persons who, in the opinion of the CSFR, are persecuted in the PRC because of their defense of human rights. According to Rychetsky, the Czechoslovak Government had compiled such a list from its own sources but this list is to be used at non-governmental level only.

Asked why Prime Minister Calfa did not follow the example of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who had presented such a list to the Chinese Government while in Beijing, to which the Chinese side responded very unkindly, Rychetsky said: "Czechoslovakia is not the United States, and it will not be in a comparable position for a long time to come." It is not out of the question, however, that Professor Janouch, a representative of the Charter 77 Foundation, who arrived in China in the same plane as M. Calfa, will undertake something with this list while in Beijing. [passage omitted]

Dubcek Sees Best Chances for Havel Initiatives

LD0912142191 Prague CSTK in English 1911 GMT
8 Dec 91

[Text] Bratislava Dec 8 (CSTK)—Federal Assembly (parliament) Chairman Alexander Dubcek today said that President Vaclav Havel's initiatives for revising the Czechoslovak Constitution have a better chance of passing than any others so far submitted to the Assembly.

Dubcek said he does not believe the rumours circulating among Czech parliamentarians that Havel's proposals will be blocked by the Czech and Slovak parliaments, both of which must ratify any constitutional changes.

Because Havel's proposal—to replace the current two-chamber Assembly with a single chamber parliament and a Federal Council, made up of deputies from the Czech and Slovak parliaments and having the power to return laws to the Federal Assembly—differs from the original one drawn up by the federal parliament's Constitutional Commission in October, it creates the impression that the Federal Assembly and the commission have not been fulfilling their duties, Dubcek said.

He also responded to calls by deputies of the former Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) for elections to be held in April, two months sooner than scheduled, saying he saw no reason why the elections should be held early.

Dubcek said he has requested the Federal Government to submit a proposal to the Federal Assembly for the early ratification of the European Convention on Human Rights, explaining: "We have obligations deriving from our membership in the Council of Europe.... Every delay (in ratifying the Convention) diminishes the prestige of our country in the Council."

1991 Foreign, Domestic Currency Savings Reported

AU0512140291 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY
in Czech (FINANCNI NOVINY Supplement) 4 Dec 91
p 4

["(su)"]-signed report: "Foreign Currency and the Public"]

[Text] Some 2 billion U.S. dollars have been deposited in foreign currency accounts in Hungary, while it is assumed that a sizeable amount of these deposits is from foreign account holders. In Czechoslovakia, people have deposited almost 1 billion U.S. dollars in foreign currency accounts so far. The following table shows this:

Foreign Currency Accounts Balance
in Millions of Korunas in 1991¹

CSFR	1 Jan	31 Mar	30 Jun	30 Sep
1991	9,843.8	13,472.2	17,543.6	21,253.3
1990	1,677.6	2,691.1	3,510.0	4,143.1

(Footnote 1: Figures were taken from the daily balances on the accounts in individual financial institutions)

(At 30 November, there were 16,540.2 million korunas on the deposits in the Czech Republic and 4,713.1 million in the Slovak Republic.)

It can be seen from the table that the amount of money deposited by the public in foreign currency accounts has more than doubled since the beginning of the year. While

on 1 January these deposits represented 4 percent of the regular domestic currency deposits, in September they reached 8 percent (see the following data):

Development of Public Monetary Reserves		
Balance on the date	1 Jan	30 Sep
Regular domestic currency deposits	269.5 ²	277.3
Foreign currency deposits	9.8	21.2
Tuzex account deposits ³	2.3	1.5
Securities	1.4	1.5
Total deposits	238.0	301.5
Cash held by the public	69.0	74.7
Tuzex korunas in circulation ³	1.2	0.0
Total unutilized purchasing power	353.2	376.2
Loans to the public	51.0	52.7

(Footnote 2: According to banking statistics)

(Footnote 3: Tuzex korunas were converted to korunas using the rate of 3.15 korunas per one Tuzex voucher)

Army Chief of Staff Discusses Military Changes

AU0412162191 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
26 Nov 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Army Chief of Staff Karel Pezl by Vaclav Pergl; place and date not given: "How Much Does the Army Cost Us?"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Karel Pezl joined the Army in 1946. He passed through numerous posts, was discharged for his political beliefs after 1968, and only this year did he rejoin the Army. In May, he was named Czechoslovak Army chief of staff and deputy minister of defense.

[Pergl] When will the period of military service be shortened?

[Pezl] It is planned to reduce the term for basic military service to 12 months at the end of 1993.

[Pergl] Did the change in the state budget affect the Army? How much less is being spent on the Army?

[Pezl] In 1991 our budgeted expenditures were reduced 3.6 billion korunas in comparison to 1990. The budget totalled 26.5 billion korunas. This reduction has resulted in restrictions on troop training and technological modernization. The funds are being used mostly for the maintenance of the troops—for food, equipment, housing, etc. Some of the money is going to the reorganization and redeployment of the Army, as well as the

consolidation of redundant combat technology. Approximately 8.7 percent of the new budget is earmarked for procuring new combat technology. This is much less than in past years.

[Pergl] Czechoslovakia has signed the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. What are its obligations?

[Pezl] We signed the treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe last November in Paris. It commits all 22 signatory countries to reduce their armed forces inventories—tanks, combat armored vehicles, combat airplanes, assault helicopters, and artillery systems—to so-called maximum national levels. Specifically for Czechoslovakia, it means that, 40 months after the treaty came into effect, our Army will have at its disposal only 1,435 tanks, 2,050 combat armored vehicles, 345 combat airplanes, 75 assault helicopters, and 1,150 artillery systems of 100 mm or larger caliber. It means that we will reduce our present inventory by 1,600 tanks, 2,346 combat armored vehicles, 2,335 artillery systems, and 24 combat airplanes.

[Pergl] Did the Soviet Army deploy any nuclear weapons in Czechoslovakia?

[Pezl] The facilities vacated by the Soviet Army in which nuclear weapons could have been stored were highly secret. Our soldiers did not have access to these facilities. The radiation checks conducted by our Army experts upon taking over the facilities were negative. Therefore, I can neither confirm nor deny the possibility.

[Pergl] Is the Czechoslovak Army's equipment antiquated, or is it up to date?

[Pezl] Every army has both old and modern equipment. Of course, the wealthier countries have more modern technology than the poorer ones. Our passive radio equipment, for example, various weapons, and some rear and support technology are on the level of the developed countries. Wheeled armored personnel carriers, on the other hand, communications and night-vision equipment, and some other gear require modernization.

[Pergl] Why are the troops being redeployed? Isn't it more trouble than its worth? How many people will the redeployment affect?

[Pezl] Up until now, the distribution of the Czechoslovak Army was based on the general idea of using the Army as part of the Warsaw Pact. Correspondingly, the majority of Czechoslovak troops were deployed in the Czech Republic. After the redeployment, they will be distributed evenly throughout Czechoslovakia. There were 44 redeployments planned for this year; another 57 are planned for 1992. All the changes in the Czechoslovak Army involve approximately 9,500 professional soldiers this year, and the redeployment affects about 1,000 of this number.

[Pergl] Will some barracks be vacated, and if so, how many by the end of the year?

[Pezl] This year we will completely or partially vacate 60 garrisons and 32 special-purpose facilities. Fifteen garrisons, or their parts, i.e., 17 facilities, have been vacated. These include the Stefanik barracks in Prague, the Sverma barracks and a part of the Fucik barracks in Ceske Budejovice, a mansion in Nepomuk, one building in Jihlava, and some facilities of the Military Academy in Brno.

[Pergl] How about the training facilities? Will they be reduced?

[Pezl] Yes, they will. This year we will vacate the training facilities in Dobra Voda and Mimon, and also the entire Mlada garrison. By 1993 we will have also transferred to the civilian administration the military training facilities in Kamenice and Cirochou, in the Slovak Republic. In 1993 the number of Czechoslovak Army military training facilities will be reduced from 14 to 10.

In the remaining 10 military training facilities, more than 22,800 hectares of the surrounding areas were opened to the public. Approximately 10,000 hectares of former shooting ranges and all training facilities vacated by the Central District troops are being transferred to civilian use.

[Pergl] How about the air corps in the cities? Will they stay?

[Pezl] The Air Force has 19 permanent airports. Of these, ten are used jointly with civilian patrons. We have given up the Brno-Turany airport, and we will terminate military traffic at the Plzen-Bory airport by the end of the year, and it will be also transferred to the civil administration. After 1993, it is expected that the Air Force operation at an airport in eastern Bohemia will end.

We have also adopted measures to reduce the negative effect of Air Force traffic. For example, training flights do not take place on weekends and holidays; there is a ban on flying helicopters at altitudes below 300 meters, transport and subsonic planes below 500 meters, and MiG 23 or MiG 29 aircraft below 1,000 meters. We have limited our flights to before 2300 in summer and before 2200 in winter. In addition, we do not plan flights over cities with populations in excess of 25,000 and over recreational regions at altitudes below 1,500 meters.

Over the next five to 10 years we will continue using for military training most of the airports in close proximity to cities. The reasons are, above all, economic. New airports would be very costly, and regardless it would be very difficult to find a location where the operation would not affect the environment.

[Pergl] Various politicians claim that the Czechoslovak Army is acquiring a democratic character. How can you demonstrate this?

[Pezl] For instance, by the termination of political parties in the Army, the adoption of the law on civil service, the organization of a social management system [system socialniho rizeni], and the increase in the number of civilian employees in leading positions. In addition, new Army regulations are being drafted.

The instruction of soldiers is conducted in the spirit of democracy, humanism, and constitutionality. The freedoms of opinion and religion are legally guaranteed. We have even introduced counselling for enlisted soldiers.

Even the system of combat readiness and garrison leaves show changes for professional and drafted soldiers. The soldiers in basic service have longer holidays, and they may travel abroad. Certain categories of soldiers in basic service are allowed to wear civilian clothing when not on duty. We have also introduced flexible working hours for professional soldiers and civilian employees.

[Pergl] Are we going to have a professional army?

[Pezl] A professional army requires advantageous conditions for the service so that general military duty can be abolished. This type of army, however, is costly: More than 50 percent of the expenditures are wages and various benefits. Only very wealthy states can afford to spend a lot of money on modern weapons and technology and at the same time pay professionals well. Therefore, in the conditions of the Czechoslovak Army, a mixed army will be built, in which the degree of professionalization could reach 60 percent.

Nuclear Plant Inspectors Prepare Safety Protocols
*AU0712183291 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO
in Czech 4 Dec 91 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "The Power Plants Are Safe"]

[Text] Prague—It is clear from a report prepared by the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission [CSKAE] that the operation of Czechoslovak nuclear blocks during the third quarter of 1991 can be evaluated as safe and stabilized. Extensive general repairs were carried out during this period on some of the blocks at the Jaslovské Bohunice and Dukovany power plants. There are still some shortcomings on the part of construction organizations in the construction of the Mochovce and Temelin power plants. Meanwhile, the course of action in eradicating the repercussions of the accident at Jaslovské Bohunice in May is considered unsuccessful. The CSKAE State Inspectorate conducted 122 inspections this year. Twenty-one protocols on the faults ascertained were drawn up on the basis of these inspections. Measures have been taken to rectify them.

Breakdown Reported at Paks Nuclear Plant*LD0912235191 Budapest MTI in English 2037 GMT
9 Dec 91*

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—There was a break-down in the No. 4 block of the Paks nuclear power plant on Monday at 7:47 a.m. The defect is termed only as a disorder, graded as a 1-level according to the 7-scale international nuclear event scale, in use in Hungary since 1 June 1991. The electric supply of the block was turned off by the safety system. It has been determined the transformer's safety mechanism went off needlessly, and the faulty installation since replaced. The block was relaunched two hours later, and was operating at full capacity by 6 p.m. this evening.

Jeszenszky, Horn Comment on Minsk Declaration*LD091223291 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Excerpts] Needless to say, the events in the Soviet Union created lively reactions throughout the world. Almost every responsible political leader reacted to the events with a certain amount of anxiety. [passage omitted] Foreign Minister Jeszenszky:

[Begin recording] [Jeszenszky] For weeks and months we have seen that the Soviet Union would transform radically, including its possible disintegration. Incidentally, in the accord we signed with Gorbachev, partially an older situation is reflected, but we point out that, naturally, if the territory, name, or structure of any of the states is modified, changes to the accord will commence accordingly. In fact, we had to lay down the basic principles in relation to the successor states, and this was carried out.

[Unidentified correspondent] Many say that the Soviet-Hungarian accord signed the other day merely has the value of a gesture. Now that the Soviet Union no longer exists, can this accord be considered annulled?

[Jeszenszky] Well, yesterday it was rather dramatically formulated that the Soviet Union had ceased to exist. Partly, it ceased to exist a little earlier. One can say that it ceased to exist with the coup. We could also say that when Gorbachev's role, if he is going to have a role, is clarified, then it will cease to exist. We could also say that it will happen when the owner of the bag or the button controlling the nuclear weapons is ascertained. Thus, the disintegration and disappearance of the great empires is simply a process. [end recording]

Gyula Horn, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, commented thus:

[Begin recording] [Horn] Although we had hardly any illusion that the Soviet Union, as it stood, would remain together, I think that this event will reorganize the world's political power relations. However, it also raises a lot of questions, first and foremost—what is to become of the nuclear arms. I can foresee a nuclear disarmament

negotiating process starting. Just anybody guaranteeing that no misuse of nuclear weapons will occur is, to my mind, not enough. In my opinion we should start out toward general and total disarmament, at least regarding nuclear weapons.

The other important thing, in my opinion, is that the forming of some sort of loose alliance—a looser form than a confederation—is conceivable, since the economic, ethnic, cultural and all other links can intertwine closely so that it will inspire the parties to some kind of closer cooperation.

[Unidentified correspondent] What about our relations with Moscow and Kiev?

[Horn] I think we are on the right track. In my judgement, all six parliamentary parties played a role in signing the sequence of the intergovernmental agreements which took place last week. I consider this heartening, and I feel that even if some kind of modifications are necessary in this state agreement, at least in relation to the participating parties, the essence will not have to be modified. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Remarks*LD0912220191 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT
9 Dec 91*

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—Hungary has always supported the right to self-determination of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and evident by our recent recognition of the Ukraine's will regarding sovereignty, said Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman in an interview with MTI today.

Herman was commenting on the common declaration of Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia about the formal end of the Soviet Union and creation of a new commonwealth.

Herman said Hungary has an interest in both a peaceful transformation, and continued cooperation between the individual republics and countries. The concrete forms of this cooperation should not be resolved in Budapest, but it is important to ensure that the international obligations earlier accepted by the Soviet Union be accepted by the new countries, through an agreement to be reached between them. The observance of political, security policy and economic contracts is particularly important, alongside the obligations accepted in the European cooperation system.

Answering whether it was worthwhile to sign the Hungarian-Soviet Basic Treaty last week, Herman said the Soviet Union is a permanent UN Security Council member, a military great power with nuclear weapons. Presently, this arsenal is under central control. Hungary placed its relations on new bases simultaneously with the union, and the individual republics. "With the signing of the treaties, we have officially closed a page of history in Hungarian-Soviet relations. We have created the possibility to develop our relations on new bases, irrespective

of the internal transformation of the union, or of any sort of state formation to come about," Herman said.

Papers Comment on Consequences

LD0912161991 Budapest MTI in English 1334 GMT
9 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—Hungary's leading dailies carry front-page commentaries on the Sunday decision of the Brest summit to establish a Russian-Ukrainian-Belorussian community of independent states.

The commentaries are headlined as follows: NEPSZAVA—"The Soviet Union No Longer Exists: a Heavy Blow to Mikhail Gorbachev," "NEPSZABADSAG"—"The Soviet Union Is a Thing of the Past: The Russian-Ukrainian-Belorussian Summit Discards Confederation," MAGYAR HIRLAP—"The Soviet Union Ceases To Exist," UJ MAGYARORSZAG—"Handshakes Between Yeltsin, Kravchuk and Shushkevich: The Soviet Union No Longer Exists."

MAGYAR HIRLAP recalls that Mikhail Gorbachev pinned great hopes on the trilateral Brest consultation. Today he is scheduled to meet the presidents of Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Russia and the Ukraine to discuss the future of the union. "Gorbachev is likely to have no choice but to recognize that only the three Slav leaders' initiative might ensure the establishment of a kind of alliance within the territory of the Soviet Union. It remains to be seen whether Gorbachev is prepared to assume the protocol role the community may assign to him."

NEPSZABADSAG says, "this community supposes a considerably looser cooperation limited to economic and political coordination, and discards the idea of independent confederate states to be set up as an alliance of sovereign states."

Antall Briefs Cheney on Russia, Ukraine Talks

LD0912234191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Excerpts] U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney is Hungary's guest. Today he was also received by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. Miklos Martin-Kovacs reports.

[Martin-Kovacs] The defense secretary of the only remaining superpower has confirmed that U.S. troops will stay in Europe while their friends here need them. Hungary is without doubt one of those friends, and the latest sign of this is that a U.S. secretary of defense is making a visit here for the first time, in the person of 51-year-old Richard Cheney. [passage omitted]

A major topic at the talks with Antall was the developments in the Soviet Union, about which spokesman Balazs Laszlo said:

[Begin Laszlo recording] The head of government briefed Cheney on his talks with the Soviet, Russian, and Ukrainian leaders on Friday. They analyzed in detail the consequences expected from the Soviet Union's accelerated transformation, the independence of the large republics. Concerning the situation of the central-eastern European region, the prime minister spoke with emphasis of the nature of the Yugoslav internal war and its dangers which threaten the region. Jozsef Antall stressed that the transformation of the Soviet Union and disintegration of the Soviet bloc, in our view, make it even more important, if possible, to ensure the presence of NATO, and with it the United States, in Europe. [end recording]

Confiscated Weapons Shipment Destined for SFRY

LD0912211591 Budapest MTI in English 1602 GMT
9 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—"According to MTI's information received on Monday, Yugoslavia was the intended destination of the large weapons shipment confiscated at Budapest's Ferihegy Airport," said National Police Headquarters spokesman Gyorgy Suha. All Suha disclosed was that police have launched investigations against several foreigners suspected of weapons and arms smuggling.

The transport documents of the aircraft carrying the weapons and explosives were false, listing the delivery as medical supplies. Police arrested seven foreigners, but after questioning they were released. Proceedings are in progress against the seven suspects. The alleged culprit behind the delivery has not been apprehended as yet, currently believed to be in a West European country.

An article in Monday's edition of NEPSZAVA reported airport security at Ferihegy Airport on Saturday confiscated 11 tons of hand missiles, valued at several million dollars, sent from Chile as "medical deliveries".

National Assembly Committee Views Defense Budget

AU0912110391 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT
5 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, 5 December (MTI)—Ways to appropriate a sum of 59.65 billion forints allocated to the Hungarian Defence Ministry for 1992 were discussed by parliament's Defence Committee at a closed session today.

The session held a hearing of relevant military leaders, who reported on how the services are affected by the reduced military budget, Defence Committee Secretary Jeno Poda told MTI. The bill on next year's state budget allocates 7 billion forints less for defence than the sum requested by the ministry (66.65 billion).

According to military leaders, living standards of professional officers and soldiers now serving are expected to

deteriorate, and it will probably be impossible to maintain the required technical level in several spheres.

The bill on the defence budget does not include extra expenses incurred by the tension on Hungary's southern border. These costs amount to a monthly sum of 200 million forints. In case the crisis drags on, the Defence Ministry will have to apply for further financial resources from the budget reserves during 1992, Poda said.

'Democratic Charter 91' Social Movement Formed
*LD0812021191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1700 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[Text] The Democratic Charter 91 social movement was officially launched today. So far, 4,000 people signed the document listing the 17 basic democratic principles. Kata Peli Nagy reports from the Charter's first meeting, held at city hall:

[Nagy] The 12-member representative body was elected at today's first meeting of the founders, supporters, and future members. The group, which among others includes (Mihaly Kornis), Katalin Bossanyi, and Tivadar Farkashazy, accepted the task of becoming the movement's public voice for twelve months.

Meeting participants later discussed why they signed the Charter, which, in their view, summarizes basic democratic principles and identifies the next step to be taken. Janos Fodor, Federation of Young Democrats MP [member of parliament] and a founder member, stressed that the Charter does not question that democracy is being formulated in the country but draws attention to the dangers. The first signs of the development of rule by authoritarian power are increasingly seen not only in our country but also in some of the neighboring countries. Therefore, he said, we must aim to have a response to this initiative outside the borders of our country, as well.

However, it would be a mistake to expect too much from this organization because, in his view, it can be no substitute for a parliamentary opposition or democratic institutions.

Miklos Gaspar Tamas, Alliance of Free Democrats MP, continued with the idea presented by the previous speaker by saying that the Charter's significance is directly proportional to the crisis of the institutionalized democracy. Some of the later speakers justified the need for a wider, popular front organization by saying that it is becoming increasingly obvious to them that a process toward fascism has started in the country. Although one speaker found the Charter has not yet succeeded in filling the role of a bridge between different political parties and movements, considerably more people participated in today's meeting than the organizers expected.

Reaction to Belarus-Ukraine-Russia Commonwealth

LD1012001291 Warsaw PAP in English 2151 GMT
9 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—Spokesman for the Polish Foreign Ministry Grzegorz Dziemidowicz, referring to the formation of the commonwealth of independent states by Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia on Sunday, said Monday that the developments in the Soviet Union were confirming the rightness of Poland's eastern policy.

The policy of successive development of contacts with the three republics helps to promptly shape mutual relations, the spokesman said, adding that Poland was following closely the results of the Sunday summit meeting.

According to Press Attache of the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw Nikolay Trutsuk the future of USSR foreign missions would be the same as the fate of the whole union. He said the embassy was waiting for decisions from Moscow to specify a new organization of the state but opined they would not be taken soon as further 12 republics were likely to take their stand on the formation of the commonwealth of independent states.

Special representative of the Ukraine in Poland Teodozi Starak described the agreement of the three republics as a logical end of the Soviet Union and opined that the Ukraine's membership in the commonwealth would in no way impair its relations with Poland but, on the contrary, consolidate them.

He added the Ukraine was interested in close political, economic and cultural cooperation with Poland, considered a very important partner in the Ukrainian western policy.

Head of the Belorussian Democratic Union in Poland Sokrat Janowicz stated that the signing of the agreement created a new situation for Belorussians in Poland. Belorussia becomes independent and each independent state cares about its minorities abroad, he said.

Balcerowicz Trip to Russia Cancelled

LD0912203591 Warsaw PAP in English 1748 GMT
9 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—The official visit expected to be paid to Russia Monday by a Polish delegation with Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz has been called off, the Government Press Office disclosed Monday late afternoon.

Balcerowicz has notified Russian President Boris Yeltsin that he was kept busy in Warsaw with duties connected with supervising government work, including the work on the 1992 provisional budget law.

Delays at Ukrainian, Lithuanian Borders Reported

LD1012061991 Warsaw PAP in English 1456 GMT
9 Dec 91

[Text] Przemyśl, Białystok, Dec. 9—The Przemyśl Municipal Transport Enterprise suspended regular bus connections on the Przemyśl-Lvov-Przemyśl route in view of the situation at the Polish-Soviet border crossing in the locality of Szeginie, the Ukraine.

Director of the Przemyśl Municipal Transport Enterprise Mikolaj Sawczak told PAP Monday that the decision had been taken because Soviet police groundlessly kept regular buses several kilometres in front of the border, violating bilateral agreement under which buses should be allowed to pass without waiting in line. This caused delays exceeding even 20 hours, which under the present conditions posed a hazard to the health of travellers and drivers.

The keeping of buses on the Ukrainian side was also the reason for which the Przemyśl division of the Polish bus transport enterprise PKS limited the number of buses on the Przemyśl-Lvov line.

Travellers and vehicles still have to wait for a very time for clearance at the Szeginie border crossing. On Monday, coaches had to wait there in line for 96 hours, cars—105 hours and the Tir lorries for 50 hours, it was announced in Medyka, south-eastern Poland. It is a real torment for travellers to wait in frost, under inadmissible sanitary conditions and without food or water.

Meanwhile, travellers wanting to enter Poland by cars through the Ogrodniki-Lazdijai crossing on the Polish-Lithuanian border Monday morning had to wait 60 hours and those by coaches—48 hours, the Białystok Border Guards said. Waiting in a frost of 20-degree below zero centigrade, the travellers start up their engines from time to time to warm themselves up inside their cars. At the same time, travellers willing to enter Lithuania through this same border crossing Monday did not have to wait.

Reports of the Belorussian side show that full scale border traffic at the neighbouring Bruzgi-Kuznica Białostocka crossing is likely to be resumed before Christmas or in the last days of December.

Walesa, Olszewski Meet on Cabinet Formation

LD1012135191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1105 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Report by Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski on a meeting between President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Jan Olszewski in Warsaw on 10 October—recorded]

[Text] The president received Jan Olszewski, new Council of Ministers chairman, at what is becoming for the Belvedere, for the president, a typical working breakfast. The prime minister presented programmatic

assumptions on the future government, as well as—what everybody is interested in—matters regarding certain personal proposals. The president stressed the need for a new government to be created very quickly. A deadline of 10 days was even mentioned as, according to the president, such are social expectations. At the same time, the president expressed his concern about the development of Poland's internal situation, especially a strike threat that is looming in different regions. There are more and more strikes, and the new government must respond to various social expectations. Finally, the president also spoke about the need to create the cabinet as one of the elements of social stabilization. The conversation was lively but short. It was also established that it will continue today. There may be another meeting to continue the conversation started at the morning meeting, possibly around noon.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 1221 GMT on 10 December adds in a Warsaw-dated report that Walesa and Olszewski "met for the second time on Tuesday." PAP does not provide details of the meeting.]

Mazowiecki To Head 'Small Constitution' Commission

LD0612192591 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] The Sejm has appointed an extraordinary commission to examine the draft constitution act on appointing and recalling the government and other changes concerning the supreme state bodies: the so-called small constitution tabled before Parliament by the president. Tadeusz Mazowiecki has been made chairman of the extraordinary commission. The commission intends to begin substantive work on the draft small constitution on 10 December.

Spokesman Says Walesa Needs More Executive Power

LD0912151191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Statement by Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycki]

[Text] A few moments ago, the president ended talks with Deputy Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Sejm Extraordinary Commission, which is dealing with matters of the small constitution. That was precisely the main subject of the talk, all the more so as that talk, which was held at the initiative of the president, was aimed also at consideration of the current political situation in Poland.

According to the president, the situation is so serious we need quick and decisive actions. Such quick and decisive actions can be assured by a competent executive authority that is supported by Parliament. That Parliament—we know it has come through a difficult period after the elections, where one could say there is not really one party but only political groups that are fusing at the moment—but it is a Parliament that is going to draw up

a totally new legal situation. That is why, in the opinion of the president, it could be a very long process that the public might not be able to sustain. Hence, he considers that, in this new situation, a law is needed that will give the executive power the opportunity for a real and efficient functioning of the state. And he appealed for that, for the Extraordinary Commission that is dealing with the small Constitution to take that into consideration.

He added that this partnership role of Parliament also had to perceive those difficulties that are occurring in this transition from one system to another. If we do not give greater competency to the executive, we will not make it with the reforms, and the public will not sustain the pressure that is forming at the moment.

Similar problems are being experienced by neighboring countries, which already now—and we all notice this, the individual leaders of these countries such as Czechoslovakia, Russia, or here, as in the case of Havel, Yeltsin, or Gorbachev—are talking about the need for decrees for an executive power capable of getting through this difficult period. This proves that it is not just a Polish problem; it is a problem for all these Central Eastern European countries.

At the end of that meeting, the president expressed the conviction that he was going to be able to meet deputies, parliamentary floor groups, and also Parliament, the Sejm and Senate, more frequently, so as to be able to put across his observations and perceptions and, on the other hand, he would like to hear from the public's representatives their suggestions, assessments, and demands, as he believes that Poland needs democracy, a strong democracy, but also an efficiently functioning state. He stressed in this talk that he did not want to do anything that was contrary to this nascent Third Republic, whose supreme issues were democracy and a government functioning efficiently.

Consultations on Government Formation Continue

LD1012001891 Warsaw PAP in English 2304 9 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—All day long on Monday Premier Jan Olszewski was busy with holding talks on the formation of the new government.

First he met with Zdzislaw Najder and Wojciech Wlodarczyk, his close associates from the National Citizens' Committee and members of the Centre Alliance (PC). Next he talked with leader of the PC Jaroslaw Kaczynski for over two hours. He also received former Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. No details of those meetings were disclosed to the press.

Next interlocutor of Olszewski, Deputy National Defence Minister Bronislaw Komorowski, told journalists that he informed the premier on the army's moods

and morale. He denied that he was offered the ministerial post and did not answer the question whether the talk touched upon the issue of assuming this post by leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland Leszek Moczulski.

Tonight the premier met with Deputy Sejm Speaker Jacek Kurczewski, member of the Liberal-Democratic Congress.

According to sources close to leaders of the Democratic Union on Sunday Olszewski met with the party's leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki. It is said that after this meeting the Union will stay away from the ruling coalition of five centre right parties.

If Olszewski succeeds in forming the cabinet still this week, he will be able to present its composition at the next sitting of the Sejm (lower house) on Dec. 12 and 13. Last Friday he voiced the will to announce its make-up in 7-10 days.

The prime minister will hold a press conference on the course of his talks on Tuesday afternoon.

Coalition Parties Agree on Economic Questions

LD1012062191 Warsaw PAP in English 2230 GMT
9 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—The five coalition parties have reached agreement on economic questions at their economic team's meeting in Warsaw on Monday and they will shortly inform Prime Minister Jan Olszewski about this result.

Representatives of the five parties said at a press conference today that they would propose a text that, they believe, should stand for the economic passage in the prime minister's expose, but they refused to elaborate on its details.

The last, fifth meeting of the coalition's economic team focused on agriculture, at which the parties agreed on the scale of necessary state interference in farming.

Coalition Advisers View IMF, Economic Policy

AU0712173891 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 4 Dec 91 p 2

[Staffers' report: "A Register of Differences"]

[Text] The fourth meeting of economic advisers from the "group of five," which took place at the headquarters of the Confederation for an Independent Poland on 3 December, did not see the parties' different positions move any closer together. It would be more accurate to speak of it producing a "register of differences" concerning Poland's relations with the IMF.

The most extreme viewpoint was presented by Professor Stefan Kurowski, who spoke as the expert representing the Confederation for an Independent Poland. He said

that our internal affairs cannot be the subject of negotiations with the IMF, but that the negotiations should deal solely with questions linked to the need to repay our foreign debts. According to Professor Kurowski, the IMF does not treat us as an equal partner, but the attitude it displays toward Poland is that of a "superior toward a subordinate."

What have the meetings of experts produced so far? Has it been possible to reach agreement on basic issues and to create the outlines of a joint economic program? These were the answers that our questions elicited:

Andrzej Diakonow, Center Accord expert and deputy minister of construction: "In my opinion, one can talk of there being 80 percent agreement on the directions of economic policy. Everyone agrees that, for example, there will be a budget deficit and that it will have to be brought under control. The differences concern the scale of the deficit. The Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD] has been talking about a 3-percent deficit (in relation to the domestic product), while the other experts speak of, for example, 5 percent.

"The KLD attaches the greatest importance to activities aimed at stabilizing the zloty, while we consider fighting the recession and unemployment to be equally important. The KLD favors a doctrinaire monetary policy, whereas we are more flexible. We believe that it is enough to regulate the money supply and that the interest on savings and loans can be lower than the inflation rate. The other three parties hold similar views."

Professor Rafal Krawczyk, Confederation for an Independent Poland expert: "The expectation is that the 'group of five' will work out an economic program, but there will be no such program. It has not been possible to agree to a common stance at any of the meetings. The KLD always has a different point of view from the other four parties. The KLD is in favor of a continuation of current policies, and the other four parties are in favor of changes to economic policy.

"The meetings of experts provide an opportunity to get acquainted and to persevere in working out political decisions together. We can reach agreement on the economy and avoid conflicts on the condition that the KLD does not take all the posts connected with the economy in the government."

Jerzy Rey, Peasant Accord expert: "You can already see a consensus between the groupings regarding an anti-recession policy. The whole 'group of five' is in agreement regarding their views on the future of the economy, but the KLD has a different (that is, positive) assessment of the past two years. The Peasant Accord also differs from the KLD on privatization. We are opposed to privatization through bankruptcy or liquidation, because it will not benefit the economy in any way.

"Every party is ready to make concessions in line with the changing economic situation, which makes the creation of a joint program seem realistic. All the groupings agree that, for example, there is a need for state intervention in agriculture."

Janusz Lewandowski, KLD: "We have kept to the same course, but it needs to be invigorated with a few new ideas. By new ideas, I mean winning the support of workers employed in large industries through more extensive share ownership even if it can only be financed out of profits. That was our position before the elections, and it is our position now. I would prefer it if our coalition partners could be persuaded to accept our program and would not change it in a way that would put what has been achieved thus far at risk."

"A budget of deficit of between 3 and 4 percent is definitely not an area in which concessions can be made, because we know what dangers that would entail. We are also not prepared to give up those lifelines in the form of cooperation with the European Community and the IMF and a strong influx of foreign capital. We also would not like the essential degree to which the state is present in the economy to turn into chaotic reactions and into improving state industries instead of privatizing them. On the other hand, we could make some concessions on the extent of state intervention in agriculture, but we would prefer not to see moves aimed at restoring official prices, that is, what are now termed minimum prices. We would prefer to see the role of the Agriculture Market Agency expanded. There is room for concessions regarding state enterprises that often fail to react to the changing economic situation. We also really have to tackle the state industry question."

Prospects for Left-Wing Realignments Viewed

AU1012102391 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 3 Dec 91 p 3

[Igor Janke article: "The Alliance of the Democratic Left—the Dilemmas of a Beleaguered Fortress"]

[Excerpts] The financial scandal concerning the transfer of funds to Polish communists from Moscow has somewhat dampened the mood prevailing in the Alliance of the Democratic Left [SLD] following its success in the elections. Irrespective of what the final outcome of the investigation is, the affair has once again exposed the conflicts that exist within the postcommunist camp.

Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz withdrew his candidacy for the post of chairman of the SLD Parliamentary Club, although a majority of its members thought he was the most suitable candidate for the post. Cimoszewicz has demanded that Leszek Miller, general secretary of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland [SdRP], not be sworn in until an explanation of the affair is provided.

Although Miller declared that he was ready to resign from the SLD, the club's members nevertheless decided

that he should be sworn in. He also enjoys parliamentary immunity at the present time. Almost no one pledged direct support for Cimoszewicz at the meeting. However, Miller is also supposed to have said that he would resign from the post of party general secretary.

The second indication of growing differences within the SdRP is the departure of the party's deputy chairman, Tomasz Nalecz. Among the reasons he cited for his decision were the lack of an explanation concerning party financial affairs and the SdRP's failure to adopt an unambiguous stance on martial law.

Today, the SdRP—and this is acknowledged by its leaders—finds itself in a catastrophic position financially. There have been frequent conflicts over the question of funds. There was a shortage of funds during the election campaign, and TRYBUNA is said to have run up debts totalling several billion zlotys. The SdRP symbol disappeared from the paper's masthead over two months ago when the party stopped giving the newspaper subsidies.

The differences between the group represented by Nalecz and those gathered around Leszek Miller have existed in the SdRP from the very beginning. At that time, it was said that Kwasniewski had used "the office glue" to paper over the cracks and hold the party together. [passage omitted]

At its May 1991 convention, the SdRP failed to adopt the stance that was awaited on martial law or to explain all the questions connected with the legacy and assets of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. It was at that point that Nalecz resigned his membership, but for the sake of the party he did not reveal that he had done so until after the parliamentary election campaigning was over.

A further conflict concerned the formation of the SLD for the elections. There were calls for the SLD to be "institutionalized" and for it to serve as a base for creating a broader left-wing formation. This was bitterly opposed by Leszek Miller. There were also disagreements over the composition of SLD election lists. Cimoszewicz did not want people connected with the old apparatus to be included on them. However, things turned out differently.

Jozef Lipiec and Karel Stryjski, who are connected with the 8 July Movement, as well as Jozef Oleksy, who sympathizes with them, intended to give up their seats on the presidium of the SdRP Supreme Board. In the end, however, they decided to postpone their decision. [passage omitted]

Many reformist activists in the SLD are considering whether there is a need to create a new party. Nevertheless, that does not seem very realistic today. This is because the grouping would have to include part of the SdRP, post-"Solidarity" left-wing groupings such as Labor "Solidarity" and Bujak's Democratic Social Movement, part of the Polish Socialist Party, and some

smaller groupings. Some activists also mention the social democratic part of the Democratic Union. The latter group would seem to have no desire to be included.

Labor "Solidarity" leader Ryszard Bugaj also describes the possibility of such a rapprochement in purely negative terms. However, his colleague Andrzej Milkowski expressed a more positive view in his recent interview for TRYBUNA. He said that if the social democrats want to be strong "they should be a single party."

Before the parliamentary elections, Zbigniew Bujak contacted the SdRP's leaders several times. On 30 November, the Democratic Social Movement leader said that he was carefully watching the SdRP and that there were people in the party "who are determined to break with the past 40 years." The Polish Socialist Party Supreme Board issued a resolution on the need to adopt a different position on "ordinary PZPR members" as well as on "so-called postcommunist" organizations.

That the various left-wing tendencies will unite is a likely, but distant prospect for the time being. That is because "reformers" in the SdRP are holding back on concrete moves. It makes little sense to create a new grouping without an appropriate infrastructure. The SdRP's leaders are well aware of the attempt made by Tadeusz Fiszbach, who created a party with the support of a couple of dozen deputies, but without any structure or apparatus. The Polish Socialist Union has now died a natural death. Fiszbach obtained 1.11 percent of the vote in his native Gdansk.

The SdRP faces serious dilemmas. Conflicts within the party are mounting. If it does not shed the burden that former PZPR activists constitute, there is a danger that many young leaders who could lend the organization credibility in the future will leave the party. However, a mass purge would lead to the collapse of structures at the "grassroots level," where the old core of members is strongest.

A SdRP convention is to take place at the beginning of next year. The debate on martial law and the burden of the PZPR past will no doubt resurface at it. Miller's spectacular departure—if it does indeed occur—will not change much as long as Jaskiernia, Szmajdzinski, Sobotka, and hundreds like them remain in the SdRP's structures. The party's image will not change as long as bosses of nomenklatura companies that were set up with public money are to be found in its ranks.

The lack of a clear move in the immediate future may result in the loss of a last opportunity to gain credibility in the eyes of those groupings with which some activists would like to cooperate. However, such a move would entail the danger that the party would lose some of its voters, that is, former PZPR supporters.

The next few weeks may determine the future of the postcommunist left. An internal split cannot be ruled out, although paradoxically, it is the SLD's political opponents who are now delaying it. The strategy of isolating the SLD in the Sejm, irrespective of its objectives, will no doubt prompt an internal mobilization in the face of an enemy.

Electoral Bureau Reports Early Referendum Results*AU0912171891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1613 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/12/1991—The first partial results of the December 8 referendum on Romania's new Constitution, relayed by the Central Electoral Bureau at 1339 hours, after the first 6,121,008 votes were counted, say that 76.5 percent of them, i.e. 4,683,680 votes are "for" the Constitution and 21.3 percent, namely 1,301,094 votes "against." 136,234 votes, representing 2.2 percent, were annulled.

These partial results show that in 20 counties more than 80 percent voters were "for" the Constitution. The highest percentage of "counter" votes were registered in the counties of Harghita—84.6 percent, Covasna—75.9 percent, and Mures, 39.3 percent.

In the city of Bucharest, 75.8 percent voted "for" the Constitution and 21.9 percent "against" it.

Until 1339 hours, eight counties did not announce the first partial results.

Voter Turnout Figures Viewed*AU0812203791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1900 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/12/1991—Four hours before the official closing up of the polling sections, at 1700 hours, 8,108,429 people voted out of the more than 15.8 million of the citizens with the right to vote, that is 51.24 per cent of the electorate.

The highest percentages were registered in Suceava, Vaslui, Mures, Botosani, Olt, Harghita, Covasna and Brasov Counties.

According to the data given by the Electoral Bureau of the Bucharest City about 800,000 citizens of Romania's capital—that is half of the total number of those written on the lists—voted until 16.30 hours. It is estimated that about one million citizens voted at about 18.00 hours.

Until 19.00 hours 9,658,279 citizens—that is 61.03 per cent—of the 15,824,373 citizens on the lists cast their vote at the referendum on Romania's Constitution.

Ex-King Mihai's Sends Message on Referendum*AU1012091191 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 6 Dec 91 p 1*

[Message sent by Ex-King Mihai I in connection with the 8 December referendum on the Constitution on 6 December]

[Text] Romanians,

Each of you is called upon on 8 December to have his say on the draft constitution. As free citizens in a free Europe, you may endorse or reject it, or abstain from

voting. The decision you make constitutes your fundamental and sovereign right, which no one can take away from you, and which no one can influence. Therefore, it is necessary for a democratic vote to be held under conditions of undisputable clarity and probity, in complete freedom and knowledge. At the same time, each of you has to affirm a sense of personal responsibility for our country's future.

The task of providing clear explanations and making comprehensive information available to you rests with the political and civic authorities. If your inalienable right of access to honest and clear information is not guaranteed, the result of the Sunday referendum will lack any credibility. We must not be confronted with a situation like that of May 1990 when parliamentary and presidential elections took place in an atmosphere of confusion, constraint, and manipulation. The result and legitimacy of those elections, as well as the institutions that were formed after the elections, have been, and still are, contested both in the country itself and abroad. Consequently, the country has experienced numerous difficulties in the past 18 months, without receiving help from abroad—which is badly needed to control the economic crisis and reduce the people's sacrifices.

I am convinced that each one of you will act according to his conscience.

The older generation will, of course, remember the years that preceded the communist state coup of 1947, as well as those that followed it. After the abdication they had imposed on me by threatening to execute the young students under arrest, the communists fraudulently and illegally proclaimed the republic. All our liberal and democratic traditions were then abrogated and the people's sovereignty was crushed.

Those who have reached the middle of their life will think of Ceausescu's dictatorship, the architect of the presidential institution of today. We cannot forget that he invoked the so-called people's will and imposed a constitution that he dared term "the most democratic constitution!" Most people, as well as their predecessors, will never be able to forget the suffering and years in prison. Others, belonging to the same generation, who had hoped to find the political ideal and the means to create a new and superior world in the Soviet Union, will, of course, think about the downfall of the communist system and, together with it, of their own illusions. Let us protect ourselves against those who, once again, are trying to conjure up the same illusions—this time, however, under a new, pseudodemocratic name!

Finally, our young people, who did not hesitate to rise against the whole wanton and fraudulent system in December 1989, know that the model of a new and truly better world is in the western half of our continent. The key to our salvation and the solution to our problems cannot be found in the useless attempt to rework the former communist model. The experience and efforts of

our grandparents, the suffering of our parents, and the hopes of our children have to blend and contribute to the decision that is made.

As far as I am concerned, my role, as I see it, my respect for the democracy and freedom of each of you, prevent me from making a detailed declaration about its contents. However, by virtue of my historic responsibility toward all those who live outside the homeland and aspire to unification, I am duty-bound to say something about a major and fundamental aspect of the new draft constitution.

The draft constitution has assumed, on your behalf and without being empowered by you, the right to stipulate that the republic, which was fraudulently and illegally installed in 1947, be the form of state in our country. By keeping Ceausescu's constitution in force to date, the authors of the new constitution have proved that they have not understood the meaning of the 1989 revolution. The draft constitution that is being submitted to you for endorsement, deprives you of the right to choose the form of state you desire; moreover, it deprives you of this right for good.

King Ferdinand's unified Romania will come into existence again. It is not a constitutional monarchy that is obsolete and superseded, but any dictatorship that is based on the manipulation of pseudo-democratic constitutions and that refuses to proclaim and to guarantee the fundamental principle of separating powers in the state and, together with it, the principle of the independence of justice.

The Romanian people, like the other peoples freed from communist tyranny, will ultimately not tolerate being deprived of the right to decide on the form of state and to choose those called upon to serve it. To protect and guarantee these rights is not only a duty that we have toward ourselves, but also an obligation toward those who, through no fault of their own, were separated from their homeland and are unable to participate in the referendum on 8 December.

May God bless and guide you!
6 December 1991

Iliescu Denies Alleged Split Within FSN

AU0912211591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1842 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/12/91—The Press Department of Romania's president issued a communique strongly denying information carried by the daily "TINERETUL LIBER" in its 522/1991 issue under the heading "President Iliescu Admits to FSN [National Salvation Front] Split" and later spread by A. M. PRESS private news agency.

"With a total disregard for professional ethics, the author of the news item goes as far as to assert that during the talks with Italian Social-Democratic Party

President Luigi Preti at Cotroceni Palace President Ion Iliescu had allegedly "admitted to the National Salvation Front's splitting" into two parties, "one of a liberal leaning," headed by former Premier Petre Roman, and "a second one by Ion Iliescu himself," and that "both parties would bear names different from their initial one."

To forestall any suspicions among the public opinion, the Presidency's Press Department is hereby releasing the fragment of the shorthand report containing President Iliescu's remarks about the fluidity of political parties, FSN included, now that they are all preparing for the general elections:

"...At present we are witnessing the wriggling of all parties for changes, clarifications. Some are falling apart, others pull themselves together, reunite, form coalitions. Likewise, the National Salvation Front, the majority party, is undergoing internal changes at the moment, faced with the emergence of different trends, which are likely to lead to splits.

Unfortunately, the very leader of the party (FSN—e.n.), the ex-Prime Minister Petre Roman, initiated an action for political clarification and for the shaping of a new orientation which means the estrangement from the original platform. From a social-democratic leaning he has now shifted to what he called "social liberalism." It is not clear yet what he means by that, but this has obviously generated certain internal convulsions and we shall probably witness a sort of split within the Front as well. This will very likely reflect on the electorate's options at the next elections. We may expect that no political party will win a majority of votes. It is almost sure that votes will be widely dispersed, mirroring this resettlement of structures in the political parties."

Ecology Movement Leaves Reform Charter

AU0912151791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1440 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/12/1991—The Charter for Reform and Democracy, which was left by the Liberal Party (the former National Liberal Party-Young Wing) this autumn now loses another component, the Ecology Movement of Romania [MER], whose chairman, Mr. Toma George Maiorescu, recently said relative to the Charter that this party "cannot belong to something that does not work." The idea of the Charter, he said, "appeared at a time of social and political convulsions, of serious economic crisis when the unity of the democratic forces in a concerted effort seemed a chance of breaking the deadlock" and when the ecology movement "understood the imperative of joining in the act of power in areas with economic implications." However, he pointed out, the Charter "remained a desideratum."

Mr. Dinu Patriciu, member of the Steering Committee of the Liberal Party, said his party had withdrawn from the Charter for Reform and Democracy, which it had

joined because it "could offer a framework for talks conducive to a stepped-up reform. Unfortunately, the (National Salvation) Front proved unable to change the communist structures at all levels that prevent the application of the reform."

The Charter for Reform and Democracy was signed on July 11, 1991, by the National Salvation Front [FSN] and a number of political groupings in the parliamentary opposition—the Liberal Party-Young Wing, the Ecology Movement of Romania and the Romanian Agrarian Democratic Party. The document was an understanding in principle "with a view to making possible the constructive and responsible participation in government of all political forces stating for reform and democracy in Romania."

Iliescu Sends Message to Human Rights Symposium
AU0912211691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1651 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/12/1991—"Romania has been firmly taking the road of the creation of an institutional and legal framework of a state of law, Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, said in a message to the participants in a symposium organized under the aegis of the Romanian Institute for Human Rights on "Human Rights—the Religion of the Second Millennium," to mark the international day of human rights.

Romania's Constitution represents, in its essence, a clear expression of the way in which the Romanian people understood to embark on the road to democracy, to the creation of a state of law, to the full observance of human rights, adds the message. The basic human rights and liberties stipulated in the Constitution stand proof of the democratic road the Romanian society has taken, mentioned President Ion Iliescu, who enlisted the right to life and physical and mental integrity, the inviolability of the domicile, the freedom of conscience, the freedom of speech, the freedom of meetings, the right to association, the right to defence, the right to education, the right to health care, the right of property. [sentence as received]

President Iliescu equally said that the setting up of institutions such as the Constitutional Court, the administrative contention and the defender of the people illustrate the creation of an adequate framework for the promotion and safeguarding of these rights and liberties. Romania, showed President Ion Iliescu, has unflinchingly taken to promote the common ideal of the universal declaration of human rights, adopted on December 10, 1948, in the sense of the universal and effective recognition and application of the fundamental human rights and liberties.

Nastase Discusses Status of European Relations

PM0912161891 Rome AVANTI! in Italian
5 Dec 91 p 19

[Interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by Adriano Pela; date and place not given]

[Text] Bucharest—Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan is due to arrive in Italy today on an official visit. The head of the Bucharest Government will be accompanied on this visit by Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase. AVANTI! interviewed the Romanian foreign minister to discover his opinions about relations between Romania and Italy and about some current international events.

[Pela] Minister, what do you think of the evolution of Romanian-Italian relations, especially in recent months?

[Nastase] Since the revolution, Italy has always supported Romania's efforts to modernize and democratize the country—not only at the bilateral level but also within the European bodies. This means that, on the political plane, ties are very good—cordial, in fact.

[Pela] What are the main aims of Prime Minister Stolojan's first visit to Rome?

[Nastase] First, we must set economic relations on solid foundations. We find it difficult to understand why 10 years ago it was possible to have a very great volume of exchange, whereas now it is very small. At the moment, there are very many contacts between the two countries' economic agents, but we are mainly interested in medium and long-term cooperation. Also, I must not neglect the cultural aspect of the visit: the reopening of the Romanian Academy in Rome—an important point of contact between Italian and Romanian society.

[Pela] How is Romania's European integration proceeding?

[Nastase] I think that three-fourths of the road has already been virtually covered. The plan for association with the Common Market and our attainment of the status of full membership in the Council of Europe remain to be resolved. Specifically, I think that the process could be completed in fall next year.

[Pela] One very much discussed problem concerns the United States' granting of most favored nation status, which is always very important in trade relations with Washington. What is the prospect for resolving this problem?

[Nastase] I can tell you that a trade agreement has already been signed between Romania and the United States, which comprises a commitment on both sides to grant each other most favored nation status. In certain respects, the American administration can be said to have been already won over to this project. The project should now be submitted to the U.S. Congress for

ratification. A realistic method would be for Congress to ratify the plan after the local elections in Romania, that is, next spring.

[Pela] Romania's relations with Hungary are in a constant state of tension. Do you think there is a way to resolve these tensions and to develop normal relations?

[Nastase] At the moment, we are at the start of a period of negotiations aimed at drawing up a bilateral friendship and cooperation treaty with Hungary. If—as we wrote in our draft—the treaty reaffirms the inviolability of our borders, then we will have a political, legal, and psychological basis for balanced and good-neighborly relations. At the moment, there is still a large emotional element in our bilateral relations: It is due to the fact that too much importance has been attached to certain isolated statements or events. This emotional element must be eliminated by tackling the roots of the "illness." Furthermore, the introduction of the treaty that we have proposed—a treaty that aims to avert any misunderstandings about border issues—would constitute a good starting point. This approach also explains the Romanian Government's recent statement on the problems of national minorities—a statement that reaffirms the desire for a European approach in this field.

[Pela] How is Romania handling relations with the Ukraine, especially within the context of the recent referendum?

[Nastase] Our approach to relations with the Ukraine proceeds chiefly from two assessments. The first relates

to the past and concerns the involvement in the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and the need to establish our own role with respect to the Romanian territories now in the Ukraine. What we want is to start negotiations on this matter, as indicated both by Parliament's statement and the government's statement. The second assessment concerns the future: We must keep in mind that the Ukraine, with a population of some 50 million, will become one of our neighbors as an independent state—one with which we can develop good, normal relations, both political and economic.

[Pela] Then there is the problem of former Bessarabia, now the former Soviet Republic of Moldova: When will the Romanians of Bessarabia rejoin those of their homeland?

[Nastase] I think that for Moldova it is merely a matter of time.

[Pela] What is Romania's position with regard to the present situation in Yugoslavia?

[Nastase] We have stated clearly that we recognize all the Yugoslav peoples' right to self-determination. Our stance is equidistant with respect to all the republics. We think that the solution to the crisis must come from within and that only a favorable international context can produce such a solution. From this viewpoint, the efforts of the EC and the United Nations can be useful. The most important thing for a solution is an end to the fighting. This must be followed by the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces and then the resumption of the political dialogue to find a lasting solution.

International

Lord Carrington Raises Question of Existence

LD0712091491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2100 GMT 6 Dec 91

[By Julija Bogoeva]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (TANJUG)—The Arbitration Commission of The Hague conference on peace for Yugoslavia has so far approached neither Yugoslav federal organs nor the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia for their stands or any documents on "the legal aspects of Yugoslavia's existence."

This point was raised by chairman of the conference Lord Carrington on November 25.

The Yugoslav press today writes that the commission has consulted the Yugoslav republics and former federal President Stjepan Mesic about whether the declarations of sovereignty and independence by some republics were acts of secession conducive to disintegration of the country and whether Yugoslavia still exists.

Answers to these questions have, however, been supplied in the decisions taken by the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, which is the only competent body under the Yugoslav Constitution to rule on the matter. The Constitutional Court pronounced the declarations of independence and sovereignty of some republics as unconstitutional and secessionist.

President of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia Milovan Buzadzic pointed this out in his statement to TANJUG on November 27 when he said that Yugoslavia legally exists within its internationally recognized borders. He said that the answer to the Arbitration Commission could not bypass the decisions of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

It would appear, however, that the Arbitration Commission has circumvented the Constitutional Court's decisions and the federal organs and instead approached those whose acts are subject to the ruling of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court and on which the court has indeed ruled.

The addressing of the republics in this connection not only ignores Yugoslavia and its constitutional system, but also discounts the federal bodies and institutions, and the state of Yugoslavia itself.

The press writes that, in point of form, the commission has approached also the "constitutionally elected" federal president Stjepan Mesic, the man who formally headed the collective presidency until yesterday and who, both at the time of taking office and of abandoning it, insisted that Yugoslavia does not exist.

All this seems to point in the direction that the Arbitration Commission is less than objective.

Hague Talks Examine Arbitration Commission Report

AU0912153491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Informal talks between Lord Carrington and the leaders of the six Yugoslav republics are under way in The Hague. We have learned unofficially that Lord Carrington first talked with Serbian President Milosevic and then with all six participants in The Hague meeting together. The report of the Arbitration Commission on the questions posed by Lord Carrington is being examined in the open talks that are still under way. Here is Dragan Colovic reporting from The Hague:

[Colovic] Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, sent a letter to the president of the Arbitration Commission, (Babintaire), on 20 November in which he asked for a legal opinion because Serbia is of the opinion that the republics that have proclaimed independence or are going to do so have in fact left Yugoslavia or are going to leave Yugoslavia, which nevertheless will continue to exist. Contrary to Serbia, other republics think that what is involved is not secession but the disintegration of Yugoslavia and its ceasing to exist. These republics share the opinion that all six republics should be considered equal successors of Yugoslavia and that any one of them or a group of them cannot lay claim to being the exclusive successor to it. In his role of chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington asked the Arbitration Commission to examine the case and formulate an opinion.

To this end, the commission demanded and was given the opinions of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Serbia, as well as of the collective Presidency. On the basis of this, the commission presented Lord Carrington with its expert opinion in about three pages. In the conclusion of this opinion it is stated that Yugoslavia is in the process of disintegration, that it is left to the republics to solve the problems of state succession, meaning, legal inheritance in conformity with the principles and rules of international law—devoting special attention to human rights and the rights of peoples and minorities—and that it is left to the republics that wish to do so to act together on the formation of a new association with democratic institutions of their choice.

We have learned unofficially that Serbia's stand on the Arbitration Commission's opinion was negative, while Croatia has mainly given a positive assessment, being of the opinion that this opens a road toward international recognition for it.

However, one should wait for the joint communique from this meeting, which still has not been presented to journalists as Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, is trying to (?bring closer) [words indistinct] on this, as well on some other questions, answers to which are still awaited. Namely, the Arbitration Commission has still not (?been given) answers to

the questions that Serbia had asked earlier, questions concerning self-determination and administrative internal republican borders.

UNHCR Envoy Warns Against Continuing War

*LD0712090691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1858 GMT 6 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, December 6 (TANJUG)—Special Envoy to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to Yugoslavia Jose-Maria Mendiluce has warned that a continuation of the war in Yugoslavia could make it difficult for this organization to carry out its humanitarian action.

Mendiluce said in an interview to TANJUG that the action which the UNHCR was just beginning in Yugoslavia was the biggest undertaking in Europe in the past ten years.

Mendiluce said that the U.N. had earmarked 17 million dollars for the first phase, which should enable the UNHCR to supply around 200,000 refugees with the most necessary items. It is estimated that the complete program of aid will be worth around 24 million dollars.

There are already over 500,000 displaced persons in Yugoslavia, and the International Committee of the Red Cross has taken charge over another 300,000 refugees.

In order successfully to end our mission, we must have the best possible relations with everyone who can help us in that respect. That is the very reason why we never make any political assessments of the situation, Mendiluce said in answer to a question about relations with the federal and republican authorities.

Our task is solely to help the displaced persons, Mendiluce explained.

The program of humanitarian aid by the UNHCR formally begins on January 1st. The U.N. children's fund UNICEF and the World Health Organization (WHO) are also taking part in the action.

The around 40,000 Yugoslav refugees in Hungary will also receive aid from the UNHCR, while agreement has already been reached with the Austrian Government to take over care of the around 5,000 refugees in its territory, Mendiluce said.

FRG Asked To Review Transport Decision

*LD1012000891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1737 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government called on the German Government today to review its unilateral decision suspending its transport agreements with the Yugoslav republics Serbia and Montenegro. The Yugoslav Government said it was "to take reciprocity and other steps on its part, in case the German Government did not change its decision."

At its session presided over by Prime Minister Ante Markovic, the Yugoslav Government assessed that this German decision was "unilateral from its legal, economic and humanitarian aspects," the government information office said.

The German Government's decision on the suspension of the agreement on road, air and river transport, made on December 4, is to take effect at midnight between Monday and Tuesday [9 and 10 December].

In considering economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, the federal government stressed that the "ceasefire was the only way to eliminate all the consequences of economic steps towards Yugoslavia." It added it would "concentrate its further action in this direction."

Chamber To Release Statement

*LD0712230191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1739 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 7 (TANJUG)—Germany's decision to suspend all transport ties with Serbia and Montenegro will apply only to buses and trucks as far as road transport is concerned, but not to passenger vehicles, the Yugoslav Transport and Communications Ministry said today.

The German Government has decided to unilaterally suspend transport agreements with Yugoslavia as of December 10. TANJUG has learned that German authorities have instructed their freighters to pull out all their buses and trucks from the territories of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro by midnight of December 9.

The Yugoslav Transport and Communications Ministry has instructed the Federal Chamber of Commerce to take the necessary measures to prevent possible confiscation of Yugoslav trucks and buses in Germany. TANJUG learns that the Yugoslav Government will release an official statement on the issue after its session on December 9.

Serb Minister Estimates Losses From FRG Action

*AU0912201491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] The German Government's decision to suspend traffic agreements with Serbia and Montenegro will cost our economy—above all, Yugoslav Airways, shipping concerns, and various freight companies—about 250 million German marks. This was stated by Mile Pesic, Serbian minister of transportation in a statement for TANJUG. According to him, the Federal Executive Council and the Serbian Government are expected to meet later today. They will be deciding on possible measures against German transportation companies, as well as other measures following the unilateral suspension of the international agreements by the German Government.

Serbian Opposition Protests Move*LD0612193191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2142 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the strongest opposition party in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, considers the decision taken by the German Government to sever transport links with Serbia as "politically imprudent and illegitimate."

An SPO statement says that Draskovic today sent a letter to German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, expressing the hope that the Bonn government will realize the harm and untenability of such a move.

Spokesman for the Bonn Government Dieter Vogel yesterday said that Germany had suspended all traffic agreements signed with Yugoslavia as applied to the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro. Vogel said that the suspension was effective immediately.

In his letter to Genscher, Draskovic criticizes Germany's attitude to the war in Yugoslavia. Germany's stands "give legitimacy to secession and armed rebellion, while denouncing as criminal the right of Yugoslavia to survive as a state," the statement says.

Macedonia's Gligorov Asks FRG for Recognition*LD0812081191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0311 GMT 8 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, December 7 (TANJUG)—President of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov is reported to have told Germany's ambassador in Belgrade Hansjoerg Eiff today that the independence of that Yugoslav republic should be recognized under the same conditions as the sovereignty of Slovenia and Croatia.

Chancellor Kohl said last week that Germany would recognize Slovenia and Croatia—the two Yugoslav republics which have unilaterally decided to secede—before Christmas.

A statement issued after Gligorov's talk in Belgrade today said that Ambassador Eiff has repeated the position of his government which expects a constructive contribution of Macedonia to a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

The ambassador conveyed to President Gligorov a special message from Chancellor Kohl on Macedonia's exemption from the announced suspension of Germany's road and air traffic with Yugoslavia.

Germany Opens Consulate General in Slovenia*LD1012080491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1637 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Ljubljana, December 9 (TANJUG)—Germany opened a consulate general in Ljubljana, capital of the

Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia today, announced the consular section of the Slovenian Foreign Ministry.

Slovenia and the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia unilaterally declared independence on June 25. Slovenia severed all state and legal links with Yugoslavia at the beginning of October and sought international recognition.

Germany, Austria and Italy have so far most frequently demanded of the European Community that Slovenia's and Croatia's requests be met. Germany has announced that it will recognize the two republics by Christmas.

The United States and U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar have warned Germany of the detrimental consequences which could arise after the unilateral recognition of these two Yugoslav republics. The U.S. and some European countries urge for a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis through negotiations.

BORBA Notes Change in CSFR Position on Crisis*LD0612225891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0954 GMT 6 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, December 6 (TANJUG)—Belgrade daily BORBA states on Friday [6 December] the conviction that there were "some new overtones" which point to signs of changes in Czechoslovakia's stand towards the Yugoslav crisis.

Citing the stands of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier at the parliamentary assembly of the Western European Union (WEU) in Paris, the paper recalls that he clearly let it be known that "unilateral steps toward recognition of certain Yugoslav Republics can pose danger of division of Europe."

BORBA adds also his assessment that Europe, unless a comprehensive solution was found for the Balkan problem, "would be brought back to the time before the first world war, and perhaps even before that."

Emphasizing that Dienstbier's stand differed from his "better known and famed compatriots Vaclav Havel and Milan Kundera," who have "already opted for one side (secessionist)" in the Yugoslav crisis, the paper sets out that Czechoslovak foreign minister "had no desire for such a commitment."

Federal**Presidency Complains in Letter to Carrington***LD0912172191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0726 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency has sent a letter to Lord Carrington, chairman of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia, assessing the Arbitration Commission's view as unacceptable. The Arbitration Commission, the letter states, has taken no account of the views and standpoints submitted by

federal institutions; it has not considered all the relevant facts about the essence of the state and political crisis in Yugoslavia; it has ignored the SFRY's relevant constitutional and legal systems by applying the principles of international law inconsistently.

The SFRY Presidency's letter to Lord Carrington is as follows:

"At its session, held on 8 December 1991, the SFRY Presidency acquainted itself with the view of the Arbitration Commission of the conference on Yugoslavia sent by the conference secretariat to the members of the SFRY Presidency, endorsed the following views and positions on that occasion, and submitted them to Lord Carrington, the chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia.

The SFRY Presidency has found the Arbitration Commission's view unacceptable because, while endorsing its view, the commission:

- Did not take account of the views and positions submitted by the relevant federal institutions;
- Took no account of all the relevant facts conveying the essence of the state and political crisis in Yugoslavia;
- Ignored the SFRY's existing constitutional and legal system and applied the principles of international public law inconsistently.

In addition to the Yugoslav Constitutional Court's report and that of the Federal Secretariat for Legislation and Administration—dispatched to the Arbitration Commission via the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and supported by the SFRY Presidency—one should also bear in mind the following:

1. The SFRY Constitution's fundamental principles, just like all the other constitutions of Yugoslavia since 1946, includes the historic fact that the peoples of Yugoslavia, proceeding from the right of every people to self-determination, including their right to secession, united themselves into a federal community—the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—on the basis of their freely expressed will. Consequently, the Yugoslav state community was created by way of democratic consensus and it can be only transformed in the same, constitutional way, that is, by a consensus of legitimate representatives of the Yugoslavia peoples and the citizens of the SFRY.

2. Yugoslavia, as an entity under international law, has had its continuity since 1918, something that cannot be jeopardized by any republic's unilateral, unlawful, or violent conduct. Each federal state exists as long as at least two federal units do. Hence, so long as this condition exists, no one can deny or cancel the existence of a federal state community.

3. The right to self-determination and secession is a right of nations, not republics. Only in those republics which in their capacity as federal units are ethnically homogeneous, that is, which are the national states of only one

people, does this right manifest itself, both formally and in effect, as the right of a republic, that is, of the citizens of that republic. However, in all the other republics the right to self-determination is inherent to all those Yugoslav peoples who are the constituents of those republics. Ignoring this right would amount to an undemocratic act and a gross violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms; such an act would be a potential cause of intranational and interrepublican conflicts.

4. A disintegration or collapse of the Yugoslav federal state can only take place provided that such a will has been expressed in a legal and legitimate way by all the constituent entities of that state community. This can be done by all citizens in Slovenia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia where the Slovene, Serbian, Montenegrin, and Macedonian peoples are the constituent entities. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, this can be done by Moslems, Serbs, and Croats, while in Croatia this can be done by Croats and Serbs, providing each constituent people do so separately. This is what stems from the basics of the Yugoslav constitutional and legal system, something that is an expression and endorsement of the specific historical fate of the Yugoslav peoples in these republics.

5. The fact cannot be ignored that no political agreement has been reached yet on the country's state and political future, something that should come as the result of the all-Yugoslav referendum advocated by the SFRY Presidency.

In an atmosphere of extremely heated, even armed, conflicts as well as of information blockades and barriers imposed between some republics and in the absence of Yugoslav and international control, some of the republics have organized citizens' referendums on the basis of insufficiently clear and precise questions which defy definite and reliable conclusions about the authentic will of the citizens of a particular republic.

No doubt only the people, that is, the citizens in those republics, can approve or disapprove of the will expressed by those referenda.

6. The following is the matter-of-fact situation in Yugoslavia:

—The Republic of Slovenia has organized a plebiscite, calling on its citizens to say whether they favor an autonomous and independent Slovenia. Most citizens replied in positive terms to this question.

—In the Republic of Croatia two referenda have been organized. One of them asked the citizens of the republic about the formation of an independent and sovereign state of Croatia as well as about a federal community in line with the proposal for a confederal model put forward by Slovenia and Croatia.

This referendum provided no separate provision for the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia, something that would have been in the spirit of the Yugoslav constitutional and legal system, while most of those who

took part in the referendum voted in favor of an autonomous and sovereign Croatia. The Serbian people in Croatia organized a separate referendum posing the question of whether they wanted to continue their existence in a common Yugoslav state. The vast majority of the Serbian people decided at this referendum to remain in Yugoslavia, opposing their departure from Yugoslavia.

—In Bosnia-Herzegovina, there has been no referendum of all three constituent Yugoslav peoples. There was only a referendum of the Serbian people (accounting for 33 percent of the population and embracing 62 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina), the huge majority of whom reasserted their desire to live in Yugoslavia on an equitable basis together with the other peoples and republics which have decided or will decide so.

—At a referendum in the Republic of Macedonia, citizens voted on an autonomous and sovereign Macedonia with the proviso that this republic was to join a union of Yugoslav sovereign states.

—In the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, there has been no separate referendum because the desire was expressed in the multi-party parliaments of these republics for a continuation of common existence within the framework of a Yugoslav federal community which respects the equitable status of all peoples and federal units and is transformed along democratic principles.

The following stems from the above facts:

—That Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia have decided to organize themselves as independent and sovereign states but in that case one should bear in mind that in the case of the Republic of Croatia, where the Serbian people have decided to remain in Yugoslavia, there is a problem of territorial settlement.

—That Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina have not decided through a referendum to create autonomous and sovereign states, nor have they decided to get out of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, at their referendum the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina explicitly decided to remain in Yugoslavia, a fact that may create unsurmountable problems of territorial settlements and bring about in all probability a civil war in this republic in the event of the Croats and Muslims deciding otherwise.

The SFRY Presidency put forward a proposal that appropriate constitutional and legal solutions be adopted so that those nations wishing to leave Yugoslavia should be able to do so in a legal way. The remaining part of the present SFRY would, in a democratic way, transform into a new Yugoslav state community.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia concluded that the acts of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia were

unilateral and unconstitutional, and it is particularly the use of force as a method of realizing their intentions that cannot be accepted.

On the basis of the aforementioned, conditions for succession, that is, conditions for the disintegration of the country, have not been created, but rather conditions for the secession of certain parts of the country, and that is the starting point from which the quest for solutions to the Yugoslav crisis should proceed.

Any imposition of further disintegration of Yugoslavia can cause even more tragic consequences than those that took place in Croatia, because of its forceful secession.

7. Succession is when a number of new state and legal subjects is created through the disappearance of one such subject, which only takes place when all constituent subjects of that state community agree with that, which is not the case in the current Yugoslav state and political crisis, and therefore the continuity of the existing state and legal community cannot be brought into question, nor can it be denied.

Bearing in mind the state of affairs regarding the will of all constituent nations in certain Yugoslav republics, decisions to leave Yugoslavia and the creation of one or more new subjects cannot influence the continuity of Yugoslavia, provided that at least two constituent subjects express the will to remain in a common federal state. In this case, we cannot speak of succession, but rather of the defining of common rights and obligations by agreement, also including territorial demarcation.

8. In the quest for generally acceptable solutions for the Yugoslav state and political crisis, the fact cannot be ignored that Slovenia and Croatia, on the basis of unconstitutional and unilateral acts, forcefully took over certain functions of the federal state. That caused armed conflicts and resistance by those who were threatened by such acts, and also by the federal bodies which neither could, nor were allowed to accept that, because, according to the SFRY Constitution, they are obliged to protect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional order of the country. That did not deny the political will of some nations that in a peaceful and constitutional way they realize their aspiration to independence; that only represented an expression of readiness to protect legitimate interests of other Yugoslav nations and their republics.

Moreover, it should also be mentioned that the federal government had enough power to secure the functioning of constitutional and legal order on the whole of the Yugoslav territory, but that it did not use its entire armed potential, particularly the Yugoslav People's Army, wishing in that way to find a solution to the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful and democratic way, avoid bloodshed and the spreading of interethnic conflicts in the country.

Neither is the conclusion of the arbitration commission true that the bodies of the federation and republics were

not able to secure the observance of cease-fires. The fact is, actually, that the authorities in the Republic of Croatia either did not want or were unable to implement the assumed obligations from numerous cease-fire agreements and thus imposed conflicts with the SFRY armed forces.

The Presidency particularly stresses that the composition of federal institutions has not changed, nor has any republic has been denied the possibility of taking an active part in the work and the decision-making in all the federal institutions which continued to function in accordance with the SFRY Constitution, after the unconstitutional blockade.

9. Ignoring the mentioned real constitutional and legal situation, according to the opinion of the SFRY Presidency, the arbitration commission assumed three unacceptable positions. Contrary to that, the SFRY Presidency holds that:

a. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia really is in a state and political crisis which has to be solved by agreement on the basis of democratic will of Yugoslav nations, expressed in a constitutional and legal way.

b. It is not only republics that have to find solutions to the Yugoslav state and political crisis that is primarily an obligation of the Yugoslav nations, i.e. all constituent subjects and competent bodies of the federation and the republics.

c. The future of Yugoslavia cannot depend only on the will of those who do not wish to remain in it, but first of all on those Yugoslav nations and citizens who wish to continue to live in the Yugoslav state community, by transforming it according to their democratically expressed will, and at the same time by settling the accounts with those who wish to constitute their independent and sovereign states.

10. The SFRY Presidency expects the conference on Yugoslavia to take account of the above views and assessments and base their commitments upon a concrete implementation of the Yugoslav constitutional and legal system and international public law and it also expects that the EC will not interfere and lean toward only the political will of the particular secession-minded participants in the Yugoslav crisis.

The SFRY Presidency continues to uphold its view that the aim of the conference on Yugoslavia is to help Yugoslavia find solutions to its crisis rather than impose unacceptable solution upon it. The Yugoslav Presidency also bears in mind that the arbitration commission, including legal experts, was set up in order to provide expert rather than political views, none of which can assume the character of relevant decisions.

Bearing in mind the state of affairs presented above, the existing Yugoslav constitutional and legal system, and international law norms, the SFRY Presidency has found the arbitration commission's report unacceptable.

According to the SFRY Presidency's view—which it has been advocating since the outset of the Yugoslav crisis—there can be no alternative to peaceful, legal, and democratic solutions to all intra-national disputes. This is the sole approach in concert with the aims and basic intentions of modern and progressive international law. For these reasons, the SFRY Presidency expects the conference on Yugoslavia to offer principled and just solutions acceptable to all the Yugoslav nations while taking account of the essence of the Yugoslav crisis.

The SFRY Presidency has decided to acquaint the chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, EC Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the member states of the UN Security Council, the special envoy of the UN Secretary General, and all the participants in the conference on Yugoslavia with the contents of this document.

Expressing our deep respect and regards,
[Signed] Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

Presidency, Krajinas View UN Peacekeeping Force

LD0912231491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—A meeting was held in Belgrade's Palace of the Federation today between members of the SFRY Presidency and representatives of the Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) of Krajina, the SAO of Slavonija, Baranja and Western Srem, and the SAO of Western Slavonija. The meeting was chaired by Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, and was attended by representatives of the federal secretariats for national defense, and foreign and internal affairs, says a statement issued after the meeting.

An extensive exchange of views was conducted during the meeting about the main aspects of the proposed draft of a possible agreement to deploy the UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia. During the debate a number of objections, criticisms, proposals and suggestions were made concerning the deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces, as well as the other issues of how to secure a lasting peace in the areas affected by the armed conflict as prerequisites for politically resolving the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful and democratic way.

It was agreed to resume consultations so as to reach an agreement on engaging the UN peace forces in Yugoslavia as quickly as possible.

GATT Mechanism Set To Protect Interests

LD0612225691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1928 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has managed to unlock the "heavy door" to the procedure for settling disputes within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in connection with the sanctions imposed on this Balkan state by the European

Community, Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations Boran Karadjole said here today.

Speaking on his return from the GATT session in Geneva, Karadjole told reporters that, with the imposition of sanctions on Yugoslavia because of its "uncooperative conduct" at The Hague peace conference, the E.C. had brought economic pressure to bear for political purposes which is a breach of both E.C. and multilateral agreements.

The community has meanwhile decided to retain the sanctions only against Yugoslavia's biggest Republic of Serbia and smallest Republic of Montenegro.

This only substantiates Yugoslavia's arguments, because the move implies additional violations of all norms, and the E.C. has no moral, political or legal right to set itself as an arbiter, said Karadjole.

He said there had been no procedural obstacles to the placing the question of protection of Yugoslavia on the agenda of the Geneva session because Yugoslavia is a member and signatory of GATT.

The federal official went on to say that, except for the E.C. ambassador whose address would have been better suited to a meeting of the International Committee of the Red Cross, nobody argued with the facts presented by the Yugoslav delegation, with special support coming from India, Jamaica and Cuba.

The Yugoslav delegation, headed by Deputy Federal Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic, met with high officials of UNCTAD, EFTA and UNHCR who showed great understanding for Belgrade's positions, said Karadjole. Secretary-General of GATT Arthur Dunkel said that all Yugoslav actions within this body would receive every attention from the experts, he added.

It is to be expected that Yugoslavia will request the setting up of an arbitration body at the next GATT session in March. Although the recommendations put forth by an arbitration body, which are taken by consensus, are not binding on the member-states, they would nevertheless constitute strong international pressure on the E.C. because the industrialized countries have a high regard for the rules, principles and policy of GATT, concluded Karadjole.

Government Proposes 'Single Economic Policy'

*LD1012080791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1810 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government announced today that it would suggest a single economic policy for the year 1992, including special measures of protection from unilateral acts by the break-away federal units.

Secretary of the federal government Zoran Miskovic said that the macroeconomy project would be submitted to

the parliament early next week to be discussed there towards the end of the month.

The government's starting point was the fact that Yugoslavia still existed as had been confirmed even by the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, and that the functioning of federal state bodies should be assured during the talks on future relations in Yugoslavia, Miskovic specified.

The Republics of Slovenia and Croatia proclaimed their secession last summer, while Macedonia has recently asked for its international recognition.

A two-option federal mini-budget will be proposed, one for six months and the other for the entire year, federal Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic said.

According to the government, inflation could grow at 20 per cent monthly next year and the rate of the dinar exchange could be altered, Mitrovic said.

This rate of exchange was established last April by Prime Minister Markovic's government pegging the Yugoslav currency to the Deutsche mark at a 13:1 ratio. These days, however, one Deutsche mark costs 46 dinars at street value.

Institute Marks 11.6 Percent Drop in Exports

*LD1012080191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1712 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—In January-November this year, Yugoslav exports were valued at 13,183 million dollars, or 11.6 per cent down on the year-earlier period, the Yugoslav Statistics Institute said today.

At the same time, Yugoslav imports reached 14 billion dollars, which was by 16.3 per cent less than last year.

Representatives of the Yugoslav Statistics Institute recalled that data from Croatia and Slovenia had been received until September 17, so that no data about the whole country had been available since then.

It is still unknown how bad the EC sanctions are for Yugoslavia, or rather for the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, but it is well known that Yugoslav exports to "the twelve" in the first eleven months of the current year were valued at 7,634 million dollars, out of which about five billion dollars were due to EC preferential tariffs.

The EC contributed 57.9 per cent to the total Yugoslav exports and 51.3 per cent to its imports, with Slovenia and Croatia accounting for the most important share, Mirjana Rankovich, representative of the Yugoslav Statistics Institute, said.

November Inflation Rate Reaches 18.9 Percent

LD0412114391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0959 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 4 (TANJUG)—Retail prices have risen 18.9 percent in November compared to the preceding month, while in the January-November period they went up 183.6 percent.

The inflation rate, as director at the Federal Statistical Office Milorad Krunic said, did not include the data in the cities of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The highest price rise in November as compared to October was recorded among the farm produce—25.3 percent, followed by industrial products 20.6 percent, while the price of services rose 11.4 percent.

Last month retail prices recorded the highest rise in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—20.9 percent. The rise in Bosnia-Herzegovina was 19.5 percent, Serbia—18.8 percent, Slovenia—18.4 percent and Montenegro—15.7 percent.

Impact of Possible Oil Embargo Reported

92BA0162A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
16 Nov 91 p 23

[Article by Bozo Kovac: "Horses Under Cold Apartments"]

[Text] When war is raging, every drop of oil is as valuable as a drop of blood, stated Georges Clemenceau, who was analyzing World War I. Henceforth it will also be possible to quote Dr. Vojislav Seselj, the Cetnik leader, who cried out encouragingly in the Serbian parliament, "If there is no oil, we will ride horses!"

The Serbian deputies were then discussing Europe's pressure upon the warring sides in the Yugoslav area to cease fire and agree on a truce. The list of European punitive measures also includes an embargo on oil and oil products, on which the UN Security Council is supposed to decide. Perhaps such a measure has already been adopted by today, and perhaps it will not be at all. In any case, there is already a shortage of oil today, if we accept Slovenia.

To be sure, in the past Croatia has pumped about 2.5 million tons of oil per year from its own oil wells, which is somewhat more than half of its own needs. War is now raging on the part of its territory where the wells are located. The enemy has occupied about 30 percent of the oil wells, which provide Croatia about a fifth of its own oil. Those wells, of course, are still operating steadily; it is just that the oil pumped is going to the Novi Sad or Pancevo refinery.

Croatia also regularly sent some oil from its wells to Lendava, where it was refined for Slovene needs. Now they are charging for it in foreign exchange, and so it is not exactly convenient for Slovenia, or at any rate less

than in the past, when that oil was sold in exchange for dinars. There is also the question of whether that oil will even continue coming to Slovenia at all, since Croatia has great needs, and imports are expensive and difficult. Furthermore, the Croats are having serious difficulties with the Sisak refinery. The enemy's army has chosen its shipping station as a constant target, so they have to repair it first of all. Even if they do restore it, there are difficulties in transporting gasoline to the crisis areas.

Serbia has been spared even less, even though for the time being there is still no warfare on its territory. Farmers are complaining that they cannot sow crops because the tractors have been left without fuel. At gas stations, there are endless lines of waiting cars, and only the diplomatic station is regularly supplied with all types of fuel and oil. Since Serbia has been at war with Croatia, it cannot help itself at all with the oil pipeline from Rijeka. It has therefore turned to Romania. There, Russian oil is repumped into river boats, which then take it to Serbia's refineries in Vojvodina. Romania, however, has already received a friendly warning from Europe that it will have to comply with an oil embargo if the UN Security Council so decides, and it almost certainly will. Furthermore, very little oil is coming from Russia, and recently virtually none, even though they promised Ante Markovic at the end of the summer, according to some sources, somewhat more than 5 million tons. At home, Serbia is scarcely extracting a fifth of the necessary oil (1 million tons).

Bosnia-Herzegovina is also poorly supplied. Its refinery in Bosanski Brod is operating, to be sure, when it has the raw material, but it cannot do so for long, since it has turned out that oil can also vanish. People in Sarajevo assumed that the federal Army had taken it. Serbian politicians there, however, claimed that the Croats had taken it away from Bosnia-Herzegovina. It did not make much difference to the people. The lines at gas stations were just even longer.

They say in Sarajevo that the supply is otherwise not reliable either. To be sure, tanks with gasoline are traveling to the stations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but they can disappear on the way. "Serbian autonomous areas" have spread, and they can simply seize such tanks. They use the gasoline in their own area, or give it to the federal Army. This is stated by informed sources in Sarajevo, who also claim that the same thing is happening in Pancevo. The refinery is operating at full capacity, but the gasoline is not reaching the stations. For consolation, Belgrade's POLITIKA published a photograph from Moscow, where the lines at gas stations are even longer than in Belgrade.

Montenegro, which until recently was supplied fairly well by Croatia's INA [Petroleum Refining and Sales Enterprise], is also having gasoline problems, and now the small republic has had to rely on Serbia. Macedonia, of course, also has problems; to be sure, it has its own refinery and can ship oil by rail from Salonika, but it needs foreign exchange and also a larger selection of

derivatives than the Skopje refinery can offer. Its refining equipment is similar to Lendava's.

If the UN Security Council really did ban imports of oil and oil products to the Yugoslav area, the difficulties, of course, would increase immeasurably. The nonaligned members of the Security Council, to be sure, are resisting such a measure, but that probably will not have a decisive effect. The great powers are probably all in favor of such a measure, or at least would not oppose it too much. Moscow, in any case, claimed for some time that it would oppose an oil embargo, but it later changed its mind. The Western side of the Council is even supposed to have promised Moscow that it will be compensated in some way for observing the embargo. That would be a serious blow, particularly to Serbia, which has always counted on an Orthodox alliance. Also softening are the Chinese, who will probably not enter into a conflict with the United States for the sake of one of the warring sides in the Balkans.

Furthermore, observers in New York think that certain nonpermanent members of the Security Council will support an oil embargo without major reservations. Belgium, Austria, and the Ivory Coast are listed in this regard. From that point on, matters are more complicated. Cuba, because of its own position, is already vehemently opposed to any interference in the affairs of sovereign states, as they say in Havana. India, Yemen, Zaire, Ecuador, and Zimbabwe are not inclined toward punitive measures against the former Yugoslavia. The strongest countries in the world, however, are on the other side of the barricade. The opposition may therefore weaken. Money, of course, rules the world, especially if it is convertible.

The strongest countries in the world, however, are obviously preparing something, since otherwise the news of a possible oil embargo would not reach the front pages of newspapers so persistently. How they plan it has probably been completely determined already, and is only hidden to the eyes of the public. Consequently, one can only speculate about the possible consequences in the Yugoslav area.

If Slovenia were also to be included in an oil embargo, which is not exactly probable, such a measure would have a serious impact on it. More than half of its energy requirements are requirements for oil and oil derivatives. Currently, it is obtaining them by rail from Vienna and by road from Koper, where they are brought by ship after they are produced at Italian refineries. Such imports are apparently complicated and expensive. Actually, this method is more reliable and even cheaper than domestic refining, if we discount the Lendava refinery, which can only satisfy scarcely 20 percent of the oil requirements. Furthermore, the Croats want foreign exchange for the oil. In any case, Yugoslav refineries are more expensive than foreign ones.

An embargo would probably completely shut off the delivery of oil and derivatives from Austria, and tankers

would no longer arrive in Koper, either. Slovenia would be left without oil energy. That almost certainly will not happen, however. On the contrary, stated with a slight allegory, around 10 December we can expect the glorious opening at Sentilj of a new gas station, of which the Austrian firm OMV will be a co-owner, and then more gas stations at border crossings and in Ljubljana. This will also clear up the mysterious advertisement on Ljubljana television. Its main hero, OMV, will be a 49 percent co-owner of the numerous Petrol gas stations throughout Slovenia, and henceforth will be directly interested in having the stations well supplied.

A possible oil embargo would have a considerable impact upon Croatia, but the writers of such scenarios there claim that Croatia, in any case, would hold out under the embargo longer than Serbia or the federal Army. Croatia is still pumping more than half the oil itself, and consumption is even declining because of the war. And because there is a war, of course, they would tighten their belts even more and hold out somehow, naturally if the enemy did not destroy the refineries and seize the oil wells; it obviously wants to do so, since so far, at least, the worst battles have raged precisely within the Vinkovci oil triangle, where the richest oil deposits are located.

Serbia, its enemy, would probably give way considerably sooner under the consequences of an oil embargo. The public there, to be sure, has been regularly kept informed that it is not necessary to be afraid of a shortage of oil and that the oil pipeline from Rijeka to Novi Sad and Pancevo is not the only way to transport oil. It is still possible to bring it to Romania, reload it there onto river boats, and bring it along the Danube to the Vojvodina refineries. Of course, it is first necessary to bring it to Romania, however.

During an embargo, that would no longer be so simple, however. Perhaps Libya or Iran would not observe the embargo, but the weak point remains Romania, which is currently chairing the Security Council. The Soviet Union and Russia are also completely unreliable suppliers. Perhaps the Romanian pumping stations could be replaced if necessary by the Montenegrin port Bar, which obviously remains Serbia's window to the world. Just a few hours' sail away, however, are Western warships, which could completely close the Adriatic Sea; this would completely cripple Serbia, but also, to a considerable extent, Croatia and naturally Slovenia, which tries always to have fuel for two months in stock.

Slovenia would still have railroad and highway connections to Austria and Italy left, if the embargo did not apply to it. Macedonia, which is linked to Salonika, would be in the same position. The question, of course, is what would happen to its oil. If the federal Army is still there, it could quickly capture the oil or gasoline and other derivatives. It would even be forced to do so, since its transports, tanks, and aircraft are simply swallowing oil in the present conflicts in Croatia. To be sure, the Army still has reserves: they say that it has enough of a

supply for three months of warfare. Now, however, it can only replace them with difficulty, and so experts already believe that it is close to a critical point as far as its energy supply is concerned. The same thing would happen in Bosnia-Herzegovina, since gasoline would certainly not arrive through the Serbian areas.

In the best case, a possible embargo would bring coupons, but the question is whether people would get gasoline for them. The economy would be crippled, and there would be enormous damage. The Western world, however, which is dealing with the Yugoslav crisis, obviously does not intend to destroy Slovenia, and probably not Croatia either. Finally, our closest neighbors and others have also resisted the demands of the National Bank of Yugoslavia that they block Slovenia's foreign exchange abroad, since, among other things, that would also hurt their own economies. An oil embargo would hurt them even more. It is more likely that through a possible oil embargo, they would attempt to soften up Serbia and Montenegro, although they probably would not succeed in doing so quickly. Serbian official policy could even use an oil embargo as an excuse, that apartments are so cold because of "crude Western pressure against the just Serbian cause." Actually, they are already cold, because Belgrade, for example, does not have enough fuel oil. An embargo, however, would be just right for political excuses, which would be effective at least for a while, when people would still be warmed by a national idea.

Slovenia

Kucan Protests U.S. Sanctions in Letter to Bush

AU0912174191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Dec 91

[Text] Slovenia today officially voiced its dissatisfaction with the United States policy toward Yugoslavia. Slovene President Milan Kucan sent a letter to George Bush in which he demanded that Slovenia be excluded from the economic sanctions which the United States Government imposed against Yugoslavia.

According to the published text of the letter, Kucan expressed his surprise over this action and put the responsibility for the war solely on Serbia.

When will the despicable truth that the war in Croatia is a war of conquest, by which Serbia wants to annex new territories that never in history belonged to the Serbian state, finally be recognized? How many more victims must die, how many more towns must be demolished, how many more historical and cultural monuments destroyed, and how many more war orphans and refugees must be sent into exile before the character of this war of conquest is finally acknowledged and before it is stated who is waging this war and with what objectives, states the Kucan letter to Bush.

Foreign Ministry Announces Stand on Sanctions

AU0912132891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1800 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Text] The Slovene Ministry of Foreign Affairs today announced its stand concerning the sanctions imposed by United States against Yugoslavia yesterday.

The United States is an important trading partner of the Republic of Slovenia and our republic's trade will be affected because the prices of our goods in the United States—furniture, leather, and textile goods—will rise.

It is emphasized in the statement that Slovenia protests the latest sanctions, which will reduce active economic relations and harm the friendly relations between the two states.

We hope that the U.S. Government will finally comprehend the new reality on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and that it will finally acknowledge Slovenia as a constructive and cooperative subject in the new Europe.

DELO Denounces U.S., Germany for Tying 'Knot'

LD0712201391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1616 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 7 (TANJUG)—The Ljubljana daily DELO writes today that it has become clear to Washington "who is pulling the strings in the Yugoslav experiment and at whose expense" when Germany announced that it would untangle the Yugoslav knot by recognizing Slovenia and Croatia by Christmas.

According to DELO, the knot was tied with the help of the leading members of the European Community and the United States.

Until now, "Europe has been spinning on the wheels of Washington, London and Paris—the three permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and the nuclear club," says the paper.

"The new, unified Germany is not a member of either of the two clubs, but it is skillful at making use of the vacuum," it adds.

DELO points out that "Germany cannot go back after starting the battle for its position in new Europe, especially after the announcement that it will recognize the Ukraine."

"The separation of Europe has already begun... and in such a historic process one cannot vote in favour of it only to vote against it on another occasion," the daily writes in conclusion.

Denationalization Law Goes Into Effect 7 Dec*LD0712134291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1255 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[Text] Ljubljana, December 7 (TANJUG)—The law on denationalization went into effect in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia today. It will regulate conditions and terms under which citizens will be able to apply for the return of their property forcefully nationalized from 1945-1963.

The property to be returned under the new law includes: immovable and moveable property, firms and invested capital.

It is expected that more than 60,000 demands will be made for a return of ownership, worth 4.5 billion deutsche marks. The greatest part, some 70 percent of nationalized estates cover woods and agricultural land.

According to the law, the denationalization process begins when the former owner or his legal heir submit a demand for the return of property.

The legal term for submitting a demand is a year and a half.

The law on denationalization determines that the property must be returned in kind, and in the event that this is impossible, then the applicant has the right to compensation through some other property, securities or money.

Leaders Comment on Confidence Vote in Government*92BA0181A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
23 Nov 91 pp 20, 21*

[Unattributed article: "Statements by Party Leaders on a Vote of Confidence in the Government"]

[Text] We asked the presidents of the Slovene parliamentary parties the following two questions.

1. There have been several discussions and interpellations submitted to date in the Republic Assembly with respect to the government's work and some of its measures. One could conclude from the positions that the parliament has adopted in connection with this that you support the government's work. We are consequently interested in why your party supports the present Slovene government.

2. What sort of solution do you advocate for the political crisis that has arisen in Slovenia? Early or regular elections, reconstruction of the present government, formation of a new government under a new prime minister...?

We are publishing the answers from the presidents who responded to our survey.

Viktor Zakelj, SSS [Slovene Socialist Party]

1. The Socialist Party fully accepts the parliamentary rules for political conduct. Specifically, the present government is Demos's. By virtue of the fact that it received majority support in parliament, it is also ours. In accordance with our program, we decided to be a constructive opposition; to put it simply, we support everything that seems to us to be advisable, but at the same time we are harsh critics of government conduct that in our opinion is wrong. We have been consistent in this, even with respect to the interpellation mentioned.

Viewed from a distance, the balance of the parliament and the government, on the whole, is not bad. What is disturbing has to do with the economic area. At this time, when to a certain extent we have already achieved the fundamental political goal, those weaknesses of the government are coming to the fore even more. The new situation requires a new philosophy, different emphases, and a different way of working. It is becoming more and more obvious that the present government is not responding appropriately to the new situation. The government crisis is already a reality.

2. There cannot be any doubt: The social and economic situation in Slovenia is becoming more serious. A number of reasons for this are objective in nature, but at the same time, it is also true that the present government underestimated certain problems, did not even react to them, sometimes reacted too late, and in some cases, reacted incorrectly. A comprehensive analysis could show that the "state-creating" part of the government is also relatively more successful because the problems in that area are less complicated and the situation is clearer, but at the same time it is precisely those ministries which have clipped off major parts of the republic budget. For that reason as well, in our opinion, it is necessary to put the present government on the scales. A thorough reconstruction of the present government, or a new government, would only balance internal relations in the government, increase its outside credibility, and thus make it easier to solve the accumulated sociopolitical problems.

New elections are senseless as long as we have not adopted a new constitution and a new electoral law.

We Socialists think that these operations, which are necessary in any case, should be undertaken patiently and deliberately. Let us make haste slowly!

Rastko Mocnik, SDU [Federal Public Administration]

The present government is not successful by its own standards. It has not carried out privatization, and it has not even begun to reconstruct the economy. That alone would be enough to make the statement that it is unsuccessful, and it should leave the leadership to more effective people. The postponement of privatization, and the economic collapse resulting from it, were caused by the government itself with political speculations. It has not acted in accordance with economic considerations,

but rather party interests. That is why this government has also lost human confidence and moral credibility.

The government is not successful by the standards of the ruling coalition either. With its uncoordinated activity, it has torn apart the fabric of the coalition and betrayed the close majority confidence that the voters placed in Demos. It is due to the government that independence has led to the kind of economic and cultural isolation that we have never experienced before, and to Slovenia's dangerous political insignificance.

The government has pushed the standard of living 30 years back, and has shifted the burden of its own failure onto the broadest working classes.

Neither the government nor its coalition can cope with the tasks that history is placing before us.

They have halted the social transformation that would have also resulted in political democracy. One after another, they are destroying the advantages that we had at the end of one-party rule. It would be most generous if we advised the government to leave peacefully, even though we would not retain good memories of it.

Rajko Pirnat, SDZ-NDS [Slovene Democratic Alliance-National Democratic Party]

1. The formal reason for supporting the Slovene Government is simple for our party: the SDZ-NDS is a member of the Demos coalition, which received a mandate in the 1990 elections to put together a government, and did put it together.

Substantively, our support for the government is guaranteed, as long as the government's policy is in accordance with the guidelines adopted by our party. We verify that accordance with every government measure in particular, with the necessary degree of criticism. As a party, through the whole period of the proceedings we opposed certain proposed solutions (for example, in housing legislation), which, however, were passed (democratically!), and we do not deny their legitimacy. That is the big difference between our party's critical support for the government, and the uncritical opposition of the opposition parties. We understand that every opposition must oppose the government's policy (if it wants to become the party in power), but a constructive posture on the part of the opposition lies in recognizing the balance of power until the next elections. On that point we can reproach certain Slovene parties for their lack of criticism of their own work, for which they usually substitute coercion, delay, or blockade. Of course, the voters will know how to reward or punish this.

2. If the present parliamentary blockade, which is already growing into a government blockade, is not settled immediately, our proposal to the government is that voting on privatization legislation in the parliament be linked to voting on its own vote of confidence. Then the opposition will be given an opportunity to take over the authority, and also, of course, the responsibility.

Dusan Plut, Greens

1. The republic of Slovenia is currently in an extremely delicate foreign policy and domestic policy position. We expect that hesitant Europe will finally just recognize our young republic, and abandon or at least substantially moderate its measures against the peace-loving and cooperative republics. In my opinion, the overthrow of the Slovene Government would have an extremely unfavorable effect upon the European political scene and its opinion of Slovenia as politically the most stable republic. The difficult formation of a completely new government would take a lot of energy, which should be aimed right now at solving the accumulated economic, social, and ecological dilemmas during the transition from a predominantly contractual economy to a market one. Admittedly, it must be said that the government, and the individual ministers, often take incorrect steps, and at the same time the government does not have a comprehensive strategy for national economic development.

2. I think that the most appropriate thing would be a thorough reconstruction of the present government, with ideologically unburdened recruitment of appropriate specialists, especially in the economic area, and perhaps also with an expansion of the government coalition by one of the opposition political parties. In my opinion, next fall will be a suitable time for elections. If the above-mentioned solution is not possible, the solution is to put together a new government with a new prime minister, or to schedule early elections, but for various reasons they are not possible before April 1992.

Joze Pucnik, SDSS [Social Democratic Party of Slovenia]

1. The SDSS supports the work of the Slovene Government, because on the essential points it is carrying out the program of the Demos coalition, in which we Social Democrats were also active at the time of the elections. The fundamental points of Demos's program, which are expressed primarily in the demand for an independent Slovene state, the elimination of the one-party political system, and the establishment of a market economy in a law-governed and social state, are at the same time fundamental components of the Social Democratic program. This, of course, does not mean that we are completely satisfied with the government's work in all of its details. We have frequently criticized the government's shortcomings internally in the Demos Council, and also in the public media, and we will do so in the future as well. In spite of this, we are consistently adhering to the coalition agreement upon which the government majority in parliament is based.

The Slovene Government, which we support, began its work during an extremely difficult period. Until recently, Slovenia was exposed to physical pressure from the federation and even had to fight against the so-called Yugoslav Army. The struggle to obtain international recognition required and still requires above-average

efforts. The deep economic crisis, which was caused by the former communist regime, requires not only resolving social issues and unemployment, but also the planning and establishment of a new, i.e., modern market economic system. It is generally known in Slovenia that the government is being obstructed in this by the clearly selfish economic interests of individual influential groups. Let me just mention uncontrolled privatization, the blockade in the Chamber of Associated Labor, etc. These, of course, are additional reasons why the SDSS is critically supporting the work of the present government.

2. We have to resolve the current political crisis in Slovenia in such a way that we will fully take into account the general circumstances facing the young Slovene state. Until we are internationally recognized, we also have to take into account the opinions of European diplomats in resolving domestic policy issues. The first thing that has to be determined in parliament is whether the government still has satisfactory majority support. We support the proposal that the government raise the issue in parliament of a vote of confidence. If it does not win the vote of confidence, then it is necessary to think quickly about the possibilities for an expanded coalition, and take appropriate measures. It is quite clear that in the event that it is denied a vote of confidence, we do not have any other solutions but the earliest possible elections for a new Slovene parliament. The conditions, of course, are thus the adoption of a new constitution, and also a new electoral law. The position of the Slovene state requires a government that will have completely clear support in parliament, so that it will be able to take quick and effective measures.

Ciril Ribicic, SDP [Party of Democratic Reform]

1. A year and a half ago, some SDP deputies voted for Peterle's government, and we were all extremely patient with it during the first 100 days, but today there is not a single one among us who has not already been convinced for months that the unsuccessful Demos government has to be replaced. The present criticisms of the government, the interpellations, and the proposal for a vote of confidence and the formation of an expert government are nothing new to the SDP. Let me repeat this with some assessments from SDP documents:

- The parties of the Demos coalition support each other politically and block each other developmentally (the shadow government, upon its establishment in August 1990).
- The Demos government is conducting a mistaken and harmful policy, that does not deserve the Assembly's support (interpellation, March 1991).
- The SDP does not support the government's destructive and mistaken policy, and opposes the establishment of a system in which a rich minority will rule a majority of citizens without economic and political rights (April 1991).

—We propose that a constitution be adopted as soon as possible, that a date be set for early elections, and that an expert government be formed for the period until the elections (June 1991).

—Instead of correcting the past and promenading abroad, the government and its prime minister should change their mistaken economic and social policy, which has put entire economic sectors, strata, and regions on the brink of survival (September 1991).

—The Demos government has fundamentally gone astray with its economic and social policy (the 11.5 percent decline in real production, the increase in unemployment by 78,000 people, the 28 percent real reduction in wages, and the 128 percent increase in the cost of living), it has strongly tilted the Slovene political ship toward the right, and it is now threatening those of us who are trying to catch our balance (November 1991).

More and more people and parties are joining in such criticisms of the government. There are that many more of them because the government is now reminiscent of the former unpopular Yugoslav governments, and for the first time the standard of living is lagging behind even the East European states. It is therefore time for us to test through a vote whether it is already possible to achieve the majority necessary to dismiss the government, or whether it will be necessary to wait a little longer.

2. The adoption of a constitution, the scheduling of early elections, and the formation of a transitional expert government. We are prepared to negotiate productively and creatively with the other parties on the implementation of such a formula. The new coalition after the elections should be different from Demos's, based on a developmental consensus that would lead to an economically successful and socially just Slovenia.

Jozef Skolc, LDS [Liberal Democratic Party]

1. Since the LDS has already submitted interpellations several times for discussing the responsibility of the Executive Council, or cooperated in this, it would be difficult to say that we support the government. At any rate, we have supported it whenever its proposals in the Assembly were sensible and rational, and when it also displayed the necessary degree of willingness to listen to the opposition's professionally and politically reasoned proposals. The reasons for dissatisfaction with the government have been confirmed, however, and there are more and more of them every day. First of all, there is still the difficult economic situation, which the government cannot master or resolve either, and it also does not have a comprehensive vision of economic development worked out. Social problems are becoming worse rapidly, but the government has not prepared an appropriate social program. One can also add to all of this the government's contemptuous attitude toward the parliament, the failure to fulfill its decisions, and the illegal usurpation of its authority.

Regardless of the outcome of the vote of confidence in the government, it is clear that it is not just we in the LDS who are dissatisfied with the government. The opposition parties and those outside the parliament have already been criticizing the government's ineffectiveness and poor work this whole time. There is growing dissatisfaction among the people. Even within the parties in the ruling coalition, for some time now demands have been appearing for a reconstruction of the government, from demands for the replacement of certain ministers to demands for replacement of the prime minister and a total reconstruction of the government. Finally, the Democratic Party has also based its otherwise dubious and forced distance from the policy of Demos and its (their) government on exactly the same points and arguments that we have expressed and warned about in the LDS from the very beginning. All of this indicates that the government does not have the necessary credibility and confidence. In such a situation, the government cannot competently administer the newly emerging state.

2. The LDS submitted the request for initiating the procedure of a vote of confidence precisely in order to clarify this chaotic situation and the fate of the incompetent government; we did this quite responsibly. If the ruling coalition is still strong enough and is also prepared to bear full responsibility for the situation that has arisen and the government's (lack of) work, then it should support that government and stand behind its decisions, and thus rescue it from uncertainty and also strengthen it. By requesting a vote of confidence, we essentially gave the ruling coalition an incentive to make a decision and thoroughly reconstruct the government itself. Demos does not by any means have the right to resolve its disagreements and mutual disputes at the expense of the citizens and the new Slovene state. That meaning of the vote of confidence was also perceived by Mr. Peterle, who was still assessing it as an irresponsible act the day before submitting his own request for a vote of confidence.

We in the LDS are convinced that there will be a vote of no confidence in the government. During the period before the elections, and especially before international recognition, we need a government that will be capable of resolving the serious economic and social situation, and leading the inhabitants of Slovenia toward greater prosperity. In putting together a new government or concluding new coalition agreements, the LDS intends to play a responsible role as the largest parliamentary party, and to offer the necessary coordination and competent people.

'Radical Circles' Criticize Croatia Conciliation
92BA0186B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
27 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by Branko Podgornik: "Why the Cynicism?"]

[Text] Every time Serbia's attacks on Croatia from the east are stepped up, certain Slovenes usually come forth with louder criticism of Croatia, because of quite different interests, of course. Taking as their point of departure that Vukovar has definitively and irrecoverably fallen into the hands of Serbia, radical circles in the Slovene press are telling Croatia these days that it has come up against a wall. "It will either resist further penetration, or it will go to ruin, and the idea of Croatian independence as a state will thereby soon come to naught."

Those Slovene circles believe that official Croatia "relied too much on external support and believed in the superiority of the values of European civilization over the brutalities of the Serbian military." But Europe, they say, might in coming days write off Croatia entirely "with the brief statistical observation: 'It was not capable of independent life....'"

Rely on Oneself, But Also on Time and Friends

To be sure, even without these cynical transports of emotion, Croatia knows quite well that it has to wage war. It is in fact doing that, against a technically far superior army of expanded Serbia. Croatia concentrated half of its armed forces on the front near Vukovar. In a completely unequal three-month battle, it was forced to withdraw with incredible casualties and destruction, but with a determination to get its city back. One battle does not decide the outcome of the war.

Everyone relies on himself and on what he has. But when he does not have enough and when he is weaker, as in the Croatian case, then he also relies on the help of friends and on time. Should Croatia have come to hate Europe, should it have spit on it like the advocates of Serbian expansionism, and should it have lost faith in democratic Europe, accustomed to sophisticated "assurances" of recalcitrants, when it eventually sees that it has no other way out—on behalf of its own security and in order to defend the principles on which its unity in diversity has grown up—but to physically grapple with the antediluvian Balkan imperialists?

The fact that the Slovene radical circles have found Vukovar to be an occasion for criticizing Croatia's behavior still does not mean that they wanted Vukovar or Croatia's territorial integrity more than the Croats. What lies behind that criticism is the interest that the Slovene radicals have in seeing the war in Croatia end on the battlefield—as soon as possible, regardless of the outcome. A resolution, whatever it might be, would also open the way to recognition of Slovenia's independence.

But Croatia is not to blame because it has a different position from Slovenia, although the same desires. Slovenia waged its war for independence only 15 days. In so doing, of course, it did not rely excessively on Europe, but above all on itself and—why conceal it—on Serbia. Milosevic and Jovic did everything so that Slovenia would "depart as soon as possible." It had opponents (as in part did Croatia as well) in European factors which to

some extent agreed with the action of the federal Army in Slovenia to "civilize" its radicalism. It is true that the top leadership of Serbia also concurred in the action; it could hardly wait for the defeat of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] so as to deal with the remnants of Yugoslavism in it and turn it into a Serbian army once and for all.

A "Bother"

Slovenia, then, waged war only with the former JNA, not also with Serbia, which applauded Slovenia's departure in order to make long-term plans on the other side to cut up Croatia. No one raised the issue of borders with Slovenia, whose population is relatively homogeneous, nor did neighboring states appeal to the right of their minorities in Slovenia to secede. It was its good fortune that it never figured in the plans of an expanded Serbia except as a "bother" which had to be removed from Yugoslavia so that the rest could be dealt with more easily.

The most difficult problem for Slovenia was actually Europe, which did not want to recognize it until an "overall solution of the Yugoslav crisis" had been found. And indeed even that Europe frequently considers Slovenia a "selfish bother" which in many respects is a hindrance to European diplomatic efforts. But there is no reason why certain Slovenes should release their bile on neighboring Croatia because Europe was not forthcoming.

Safety Thanks to Croatia

Just as certain Slovene politicians said back in the summer that Croatia is being towed into Europe by Slovenia's "successes in the war," it might now be replied that that republic is today enjoying its sovereignty and safety to a large extent thanks to Croatia. In any case, the hope remains that less terrible times will come in which neighbors will be able to measure more realistically their mutual relations and "credit" for the sovereignty of each other and find peacetime interests which will link them together.

Just like Slovenia during its brief war, today Croatia also lacks (wartime) allies on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The reason for this lies as much in certain oversights of Croatian policy as in the desire of the other republics and peoples to try to avoid war while they can, each for itself, by making compromises with Serbia, in the belief that someone from outside will finally put a stop to Serbia, the Army, and the streams of blood being shed.

Consequences of Disintegration on Economy

92BA0182B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
20 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by Ilja Popit: "The Difficulties Will Continue"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Nov—The predictions have been fulfilled. Production, in fact, has declined, unemployment has increased, and we have accelerated inflation and uncertainty in trade. All of this could have been expected, and will also continue in the coming months, according to the Economic Institute of the Ljubljana Law School in its October review of economic trends.

The effect that the collapse of Yugoslavia will have on economic activity will be precisely the opposite of the effect that the institution of economic relations among previously unrelated states would have. More expensive domestic production in individual republics, because of the collapse of the Yugoslav market, will partly replace previous cheaper purchases of goods in other parts of the former state, the institute states. At the same time, imports of cheaper goods from states outside the former Yugoslavia will replace those imports of goods from other Yugoslav republics which the previous joint customs protection allowed to be competitive. The higher the volume of mutual trade, the larger the first effect; and the more the state is involved in international trade, the larger the second effect. How strong the influence of the emergence or collapse of an economic union is also depends upon differences in costs in the production of the same type of goods. The greater the difference in costs, the more integration has an effect upon specialization, the improvement of supplies, productivity, prosperity, and economic growth. On the other hand, disassociation causes a reduction in specialization, poorer supplies, and less prosperity, and causes economic backwardness.

High Yugoslav tariffs and quantitative limits on imports reduced the prosperity of the Slovene economy, which is relatively open to the world. Nevertheless, on the other hand, they also allowed the less competitive producers in Slovenia to make sales in the markets of the other Yugoslav republics, and thus stimulated economic activity. With the collapse of the Yugoslav economic union, those producers will be left without work, and cheaper imports from the rest of the world will replace some of the previous purchases from other republics. The disappearance of the less competitive domestic producers will reduce production and employment, increase the range of imports, increase the sale of domestic goods and services in Slovenia, and reduce the sale of Slovene goods and services outside of Slovenia.

Economy policy has to respond to reduced sales by encouraging exports, through exchange rate policy and through appropriate initiatives vis-a-vis other states and communities. It also has to stimulate domestic consumption.

Domestic consumption can be increased by a budget deficit and by ensuring normal differences between active and passive interest rates, which will allow savings to be used for investments.

The institute states that this year transportation, with the exception of maritime transportation, and tourism were

even more affected than industrial activity. The deep decline in construction instills considerable economic pessimism. They are warning about a decrease in employment and an increase in unemployment. They state that in numerous sectors, including ferrous metallurgy and the furniture industry, the decline in employment is more rapid than the decrease in production. To be sure, this increases productivity and competitiveness, but at the same time it also appears that the competitiveness thus increased has not really permitted cheaper sales that would contribute to increased demand and economic growth, and increase employment again. The decrease in economic activity and employment is thus similar to that resulting from newly arisen monopolies, or dying industries.

To date, Slovene foreign trade, i.e., exports and imports, has been close to \$750 million per month. The "new" Slovene economy, the Institute thinks, will be able to achieve that volume with a much greater effort, and a lower exchange rate for the tolar in comparison with the former "realistic" dinar exchange rate needed for an equal volume of trade. In fact, it is not possible to ignore the circumstances that will hinder the inclusion of Slovene trade in world trade.

For some time to come Slovenia will still not have a hard currency and full convertibility. The introduction of a sliding exchange rate with convertibility for everyday trade in the economy and of a parallel market for trade by the population was the only solution that was still realistic. The exchange rate will be entirely dependent upon monetary policy, since economic policy does not even exist in other areas. Because there is no economic policy, there is once again the danger that already existed last year under the Federal Executive Council, when the tightening of monetary policy seriously intensified the economic depression.

In the Institute's opinion, the trend and the relative stability of the tolar's exchange rate in the parallel market are satisfactory. The purchase of apartments will increase the domestic "Slovene" supply of foreign currencies, and thus reduce their price; in the short term this will maintain the exchange rate in the parallel market. The reduced supply of foreign exchange from other republics will act in the opposite direction, however. This will cause more long-term difficulties, since Slovenia's population does not make foreign exchange and for some time to come, the tolar will be a currency that is little used by those selling foreign exchange from other republics.

At present, the tolar's exchange rate against the dinar is completely uncertain and the demand for dinars is growing, since they are needed by workers from other republics, along with those grocers who are still succeeding in reaching the Slovene market, and by our citizens who make purchases more cheaply in Croatia.

At present the tolar is still being helped by the war in Croatia and the printing of dinars. Specifically, the war is

preventing cheaper food from flowing from the "Serbian" market to the Slovene market, which has been under pressure from large price increases, especially for agricultural products. A higher price in tolar and a lower price in dinars, of course, do not help to increase the value of the tolar as opposed to the dinar, but rather help the dinar. For this reason, the value of the dinar against the tolar could rise at least temporarily, according to the institute.

Statistics Show Industrial Production Falling

92BA0182A NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene
26 Nov 91 p 5

[Article by (ml): "October's Production Less Than September's"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Nov—In October, industrial production by Slovene enterprises was 0.7 percent less than in September, 10.9 percent less than the monthly average for last year, and 17 percent less than last October, according to the Slovene Republic's Institute for Statistics.

That is the lowest production since 1978, and only 0.6 percent higher than in 1977, and at the same time about 26 percent less than the most intensive industrial production, in 1985.

This year, industrial production has declined by 11.6 percent in comparison with the same period last year; it is 6 percent higher than production in the first 10 months of 1977, and 21.2 percent below industrial production in 1986. The cumulative result from September to October 1991 has decreased by 0.8 percent.

Production, which declined by 1.2 percent per month in October and more rapidly than in September, has had an average rate of decline of 1 percent per month during the past 10 months. There has been an uninterrupted decline since last November, at an average of 1.1 percent per month.

The September average net personal income in the organizations and communities (except private ones) of the Republic of Slovenia amounted to 11,344 dinars, 10,990 dinars in the economy and 12,929 dinars in the noneconomic sector. That is a 10.7 percent increase in comparison with August, 9.8 percent in the economy and 14.6 percent in the noneconomic sector.

Gross personal incomes in September amounted to 18,707 dinars, 18,058 in the economy and 21,608 in the noneconomic sector. This is 11.4 percent higher than gross personal incomes in August, 10.1 percent in the economy and 17 percent in the noneconomic sector. In comparison with recalculated gross personal incomes from last September, gross personal incomes increased by 86.7 percent, 91.4 percent in the economy and 68.3 percent in the noneconomic sector. Gross personal incomes increased most compared to August in social

organizations and communities (23.7 percent), transportation and communications (17.7 percent), and health care and social security (16.3 percent).

In September 1991, 82,096 unemployed people were registered, which is 5.5 percent more than a month before and 65.6 percent more than a year before.

Croatia

Granic Introduces Prisoner Exchange Delegation

LD0712195391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic at a Zagreb news conference today introduced seven members of the newly found commission which will participate in prisoner exchange negotiations. The commission was said to be meeting once a week and holding regular news conferences.

The commission will be headed by Muhamed Zulic, a member of the Croatian Government who himself spent 27 days in captivity. Commission Deputy Chairman Colonel Stjepan Adamic said that the coordination and revision of the list—on the basis of which the exchange of 1,600 should be conducted—is under way.

Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic told the news conference that the Croatian Government asked for 6,000 young men in the Yugoslav Army to be released from Army ranks immediately.

Admiral on Refusal To Accept Dubrovnik Proposal

LD1012072791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1857 GMT 8 Dec 91

[Text] Herceg Novi, Dec 8 (TANJUG)—Commander of the naval sector Boka Vice-Admiral Miodrag Jokic said today that the Croatian side had not accepted the federal Army's proposal to demilitarize the medieval city of Dubrovnik.

Vice-Admiral Jokic told a press conference that the Croatian side explained its refusal by claiming it could not accept to admit another heavy defeat so soon after losing Vukovar.

Talking of the incidents which occurred in and around Dubrovnik during the past two days, Vice-Admiral Jokic said that Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) units on Mount Srdj overlooking Dubrovnik had been under mortar and even artillery fire from all parts of the city, and that three soldiers were killed in the attacks.

To protect the lives of other soldiers, the decision was then made without consulting the superior command to return fire from small-bore weapons in order to avoid destruction in the city, the vice-admiral said.

At the request of the Croatian authorities, the JNA ceased fire and withdrew its forces from Mount Srdj, but destruction and fire nevertheless continued in Dubrovnik.

This, Vice-Admiral Jokic said, proves that fighting took place in the city itself between members of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and the Croatian Defence Alliance (HOS), a military wing of the extremist Croatian opposition Party of Law (HSP).

Army representatives and Croatian authorities are to meet in Dubrovnik today to establish the facts concerning the incidents which occurred in the city.

Croatian media yesterday said that the Army had "apologized" for the attacks on Dubrovnik. Military authorities have denied the report, saying that the point of the question is not an apology but the request that all facts be established precisely.

Vice-Admiral Jokic said that another, 16th agreement on a complete cease-fire in the broader Dubrovnik area was signed yesterday.

According to reports from the area last night and this morning, the ceasefire is being observed.

The agreement also provides for the establishment of communications between Dubrovnik and islands and the docking of cargo ships with an advance announcement of their arrival and checking of their cargo by the federal Army.

The Army will also make possible the repairs of power and water supply lines in Dubrovnik, Vice-Admiral Jokic said.

End of Blockade of Dubrovnik Port Announced

LD0912160191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1406 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Dubrovnik, December 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Navy on Monday [9 December] raised a two-month blockade of Dubrovnik's port of Gruz.

The lifting of the blockade came after representatives of the Yugoslav Army and the Croatian authorities reached an agreement on Saturday [7 December].

The first passenger ship today sailed out of the Dubrovnik port for the islands of Kolocep, Lopud, Sipan and Mljet. The line will be operating daily.

The ship Ilirija, carrying humanitarian aid, is expected to arrive here later this afternoon.

Although this marked an end to the blockade of the Dubrovnik region, the Yugoslav Army will continue to control cargo ships in the port of Gruz, instead of in the near-by port of Zelenika in the republic of Montenegro, as envisaged by an agreement reached between the Army and the Croatian authorities.

Dubrovnik is in its 70th day without electricity, with small quantities of drinkable water and without many most necessary items.

Army Withdrawal From Pleso Barracks Completed

LD0912183891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—The last group of soldiers from the Yugoslav People's Army's [JNA] 151st air force base left the Pleso barracks in Zagreb today. According to Croatian sources, the convoy of about 145 vehicles left in the direction of Banjaluka, escorted by a group of EC observers. The handover of the Pleso barracks, however, has not yet been carried out; according to the Croatian side, it will be completed once the mine fields in the area are cleared and the Zmaj maintenance depot of the Yugoslav air force is completely evacuated.

At the same time, according to the same sources, the Army has also started to move out of the naval district command building in Split. The first 13 trucks loaded with pieces of equipment from the building left for the Lora naval base. The evacuation of the building is expected to take several days. According to available reports, the evacuation of the building is proceeding in line with the agreement signed in Geneva on army withdrawal and without incident.

A column of 100 vehicles today also set off from the barracks of the Sibenik garrison. The 13th JNA Corps today completed its departure from Rijeka. A mixed committee charged with implementing an evacuation agreement said that the transfer of the units from Rijeka was carried out according to the agreement and in a correct manner. A handover took place today of the barracks at Trsat and of the 13th JNA Corps command building in Rijeka.

Rights Party Denies HOS Units Fighting Army

LD1012000191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1800 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] In a statement released today, the Croatian Party of Rights [Hrvatska Stranka Prava; HSP] again denied a TANJUG report that units of the Croatian Defense Association [HOS] within the National Guard Corps (NGC) are fighting other units of the Croatian Army. The HSP insists that there are no other NGC units in Dubrovnik except those of the HOS. After the 9th Combat HOS Unit of Split was commended by the commander of the 1st NGC Brigade for its services in defending Dubrovnik, commendations have now been received from HSP President Dobroslav Paraga. Paraga is still on a hunger strike in prison.

Krajina Assembly Rejects Vance Proposal

AU0912094791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Dec 91

[Text] At their session in Knin, the deputies of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina Assembly unanimously endorsed the stance of the Krajina Government regarding the possible arrival and deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces in the region.

However, the deputies rejected the proposal put forward by UN special envoy Cyrus Vance that blue helmets be deployed in the so-called ink blot [mrlje of mastila] manner. According to this proposal, deputies stressed, Krajina would lose everything it has achieved in its previous struggle. They also objected to the Yugoslav Peoples Army pulling out from the territory of Krajina.

National Front Decries Journalists' Expulsion

LD1012075791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1737 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—A large number of journalists of Serbian nationality, but also Croats, Italians, Jews and others, have been expelled from the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, as the National Front of Yugoslavia-Council for Croatia said in a statement issued today.

The National Front is an association of Yugoslav-oriented citizens.

The statement said that the expulsion of journalists had been made possible by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's decree on information activities, which introduced censorship and special military censors who are empowered to ban the publication of articles in the press and "arrest journalists and editors."

The decree has resulted in the suspension of around 600 employees of Croatian Television, the discharge of 55 journalists of the Zagreb daily VJESNIK, the suspension of eight journalists of Rijeka Radio, and suspensions and dismissals of journalists in the Croatian towns of Split, Osijek and Pula.

"Such a decree, coupled with the ban on the sale of all newspapers published in Serbia, enables the Ustasha authorities to homogenize the Croatian nation by means of lies that it is allegedly threatened," the National Front statement said.

Justice Minister Explains New Minority Law

AU0612151491 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1100 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Interview with Croatian Justice Minister Bosiljko Misetic by Konstanze Ripper in Vienna on 6 December—recorded]

[Text] [Ripper] Mr. Minister, the Croatian Assembly adopted a minority law two days ago. What is the content of this law?

[Misetic] This law means that now the minority rights in Croatia are on one of the highest levels in Europe that a minority can enjoy in a state.

[Ripper] On what level were the minority rights before?

[Misetic] Immediately after it came into power, the new Croatian Government also adopted laws that placed the rights of the minorities on a European level. Then the EC or the European states demanded that they be sanctioned on a higher level. The day before yesterday they were raised to the level of the Constitution.

The war that is being waged has nothing to do with a lack of rights for the Serbian minority. It is a war for greater Serbia. So far, the Serbs have not been more disadvantaged than other nations, nationalities, or minorities in Croatia, but it is a controlled war.

[Ripper] If the Serbs had been given cultural and political autonomy earlier, would it not perhaps have been possible to prevent this war?

[Misetic] No, it would not have been possible to prevent this war at all because the law that has now been verified existed in principle. It was only raised to a somewhat higher level regarding cultural and political autonomy.

I think that it also has to be mentioned that in the 11 municipalities where the Serbs are in the majority they have the right to a police of their own and an autonomous judiciary, with the exception of border checkpoints and state security. All national minorities are proportionally represented in the Croatian parliament, that is to say also in municipalities where they are not in the majority. All nationalities, also the Italians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Czechs, and so on, have safe seats in the parliament.

[Ripper] That is to say, this new law, this higher level has practically been implemented because of pressure from the EC or the Western world?

[Misetic] Well, one can say that it was somehow due to influence from Western states. However, I am convinced that Croatia would have more or less pushed it through in the same way and that this might possibly have happened earlier if there had not been the war. It is not the problem of the rights of the Serbian minority that has to be stressed, but the Serbs simply do not accept a Croatian state. They want to establish a Serbian state on Croatian territory.

Serbia

BORBA Assesses Mesic's Presidency Departure

LD0612225391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1049 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 6 (TANJUG)—Belgrade daily BORBA assesses on Friday [6 November] that Stjepan Mesic, who until yesterday was President of Yugoslav State Presidency, "played his pretentiously and theatrically conceived role of Yugoslavia's undertaker poorly" even "from the standpoint of Croatian interests."

The paper recalls the session on Thursday [5 November] of the parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and Mesic's "farewell speech", which ended with: "I believe I have done the task. Yugoslavia no longer exists."

Assessing that the fate of Croatian interests "perhaps no longer depended on Yugoslavia", the paper adds that it "dependend on international factors who took over care for Yugoslavia's fate."

BORBA recalls also that Mesic "was elected president" of Yugoslav state presidency "with wholehearted aid of these factors" and adds that "it would be interested only to see what these factors say, whether Mesic has satisfied or disappointed them with this gesture."

Deputy Questions Assembly Declaration on Sanctions

AU0612202391 Belgrade RTV Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Milica Pesic report]

[Excerpts] After a very stormy discussion and numerous retorts, in which some 30 deputies took part, the Assembly of Serbia adopted a declaration on the EC sanctions against Serbia with only two abstentions. Let us recall, this document warns about a great danger to international order caused by the precedent that was set by members of the EC in adopting unilateral and unsubstantiated economic sanctions and by applying political pressure on Serbia. [passage omitted]

The stormy discussion on the proposed document was started by Deputy Mihajlo Markovic who asked whether the Assembly was authorized to adopt a document that closes all doors of Europe and the world to Serbia and the Serbian people. One should ask, Markovic said, why the world was doing all this to us when President Milosevic had signed all cease-fire agreements so far, and when Serbia is not at war. Has the Assembly the right to draft this declaration on behalf of the citizens, who some generals call traitors, and on behalf of our 300,000 workers in Germany, Markovic asked, presenting the dilemma on whether the Assembly should now adopt a document on what has been done, as he said, by a narrow circle of the Serbian authorities. [passage omitted]

Opposition Calls For Recognizing Republics

LD1012000791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Dusko Mandic report from Belgrade]

[Excerpts] What was said at a Belgrade ceremony this evening to mark the first anniversary of the first multi-party elections in Serbia, the only place in Europe at the time where communists won, exceeds all our expectations and ideas about the power and determination of the Serbian opposition. Mr. Vuk Draskovic, the most eminent leader of the opposition, reiterated most of what he said several days ago. [passage omitted]

The indications are that everything is ready for embarking on a determined, nonparliamentary action to topple communism. The opposition has also announced its intention to walk out of the parliament and continue its action in the street. The main objectives outlined this evening are: First, to topple the authorities in power and Slobodan Milosevic as the main culprit; second, the introduction of democracy and the return to power of the Karadjordjevic dynasty. These objectives can be fulfilled only by destroying the television monopoly, by abolishing the secret police, and by introducing genuine, democratic electoral procedure.

A large crowd was left outside, since the hall where the ceremony took place was too small to admit all those who wanted to attend. Your reporter succeeded in entering the building and was ushered with as much civility as possible when he showed his Croatian Television press card. However, all became clear to me later.

Dragan Veselinov, leader of the Peasant Party, said when outlining the plans of the Serbian opposition—firmly united as of this evening—that Serbia would have to be the first in the world to recognize the autonomy and independence of Croatia, then of Slovenia, and later of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. This came as such a shock that it initially provoked a stunned silence, but applause followed.

No Karadzic or people of his sort could create their state and claim Belgrade as its capital, Vuk Draskovic said. Their capital, ladies and gentlemen, is Sarajevo. Once we all have our own state we will have no difficulty in coming to an agreement on common cooperation with Slovenes, Muslims, and others. Croats will be given time to think it over, to see what is the best solution for them, and will then let their people decide what they want.

It is obvious that in Serbia, with considerable help from outside, an important turnabout and the most decisive battle against the ruling communism and Slobodan Milosevic have been embarked upon. Yeltsin and the major deal struck in the former Soviet Union were cited as an example.

Draskovic 'Serious Accusations' Against Army

LD0812030891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Dusko Mandic report]

[Text] Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, made a speech at a party meeting in Belgrade today that will be remembered for a long time and will certainly influence Serbia's official policy. The speech threw completely new and different light on the country's situation, specifically in Serbia. He made four serious accusations against the ruling party, the Army, and—which came as a surprise—against a part of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbs from—as he stressed—provinces—that is, Serbs from outside Serbia—who inflicted evil on Serbia and all other nations.

First, the ruling communists and the Socialist Party of Serbia remain in power by constantly raising tensions, which are increasingly bloody. He called them blood-thirsty sponges excommunicated by the entire world. Perhaps for this reason he first paid honors with a minute of silence to all killed young men—Serbs, Croats, and all others. He said that no one inflicted such evil on the Serbian people as the ruling communists, but he then added they are ruling no more because they have given up their power to generals who are doing whatever they want, and as a result, children are being killed throughout the country. He accused the old men of communism of pushing Serbia, which will be accused of genocide, into a catastrophe. He also accused them of delaying the arrival of UN peacekeeping forces to preserve their bloody communist rule.

Second, the Army is not a Yugoslav army, Vuk Draskovic said, because how can it be a Yugoslav army when precisely it has broken up Yugoslavia and is now declaring Serbia and Montenegro as Yugoslavia. The Army has taken the Serbian people and Serbia hostage, threatening everyone on this soil and the entire world. Old men who can hardly walk want to take on Vienna and Berlin, Draskovic added. The Army which has broken up Yugoslavia is a widow seeking a new husband and has found it in Serbia. It is a widow not asking how much it costs to have a husband, and innocent children under 19 of all nationalities are paying the price. The Terazije Forum was broken up, and the opposition youth, which is on the fronts, is being killed. He warned that if they do not accept peacekeeping forces, a new desert storm will arrive which will destroy Serbia. This is inevitable because of actions of mad communists and their old men.

He targeted the third accusation against a part of the Serbian Orthodox Church. He said that some monks are carrying rifles and wearing priestly robes at the same time. He told them—which is uncharacteristic for him: Take off your priestly robes if you want to carry machine guns.

The fourth and the strongest accusation was unexpectedly made against the Serbs from outside Serbia—that is, as he put it, Serbs from provinces. They, with their sixth Lika Shock brigade, the seventh Banija, and other shock brigades, came in 1944 and in just a few days, executed 12,000 Serbs in Belgrade alone. These same Serbs from outside Serbia are now again crossing the River Drina and are pushing Serbia into hell. They are destroying Serbia, and they are not realizing or are forgetting that they are nothing without Sumadija.

Vuk Draskovic called on people to boycott the Army immediately, to refuse to heed mobilization calls, and to refuse to go to battlefields. This was greeted with tumultuous approval. Citing Serbian Defense Minister General Simovic, who said yesterday in Kragujevac that 10,000 are on trial for refusing to listen to the Army orders, Draskovic said that hundreds of thousands and one million and millions of people will be on trial because Serbs will not die for communist ideals and because Serbia does not want to destroy Croatian towns. The Yugoslav Army, now that it has broken up Yugoslavia, is nothing but a paramilitary formation. This was also greeted with long applause.

Renaissance Movement Prepares To Mobilize Members

LD0812025391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO), today raised the possibility that his party's members may mobilize.

During consultations with committee chairmen, deputies, and the SPO central administration in the packed hall of the Belgrade Youth Club, he also asked that maximum effort be made so that blue helmets could arrive as soon as possible, "because if the UN peace-keeping forces do not come, those who maintain peace by force will, and no one will then be hitting the backwaters of Serbia and villages which are not on the map. They will be hitting Belgrade, Kragujevac, Valjevo."

At the end of the meeting, Draskovic appealed to all present to pay tribute with a minute of silence to the SPO members who were killed and all the innocents who died: Serbs, Croats, Muslims, all the children whose graves now bear witness to this senseless mutual destruction.

The meeting was also attended by Branko, son of General Draza Mihajlovic, who was greeted with stormy applause.

Dwelling on the beginning of the conflict with Slovenia and Croatia, Draskovic said: "This is where the economic blockade and the spiteful ultimatum policy started. We were pushed to go out into the streets in the

most undignified way to protest against mayonnaise and jumpers, and now we wonder why Serbia is cursed every day by someone."

"It is not true that Serbs are hated everywhere just because they are Serbs. This is the biggest lie being fed to these people," Draskovic stressed, claiming that God stood by the Serbs at the beginning of the war in Croatia because "the Serbian nation was pure and completely innocent." However, "reaching out for what belongs to others, which is alien to the Serbian soul, we besmirched our reputation and committed a crime."

"In the name of what national interest do Serbia's youth continue to lay down their lives when General Simovic says that all war goals have been achieved," he asked, accusing the authorities of "turning the just struggle of the Serbian people into an occupation."

Draskovic spoke of the possibility that the SPO Presidium could proclaim either a state of emergency or the full mobilization of its membership.

"When Yugoslavia remains not just without Slovenia and Croatia but also without Bosnia and Macedonia, the day will also be nearer when Serbia will be without Kosovo. The authorities in Serbia will then, mostly likely, cry that this is still Yugoslavia, and the only thing they will have to offer us will be a terrible massacre on both sides. We must be prepared if we are to prevent them from doing this," Draskovic said, explaining his party's move.

Opposition Party Criticizes Europe, Draskovic

AU0912204891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Miroslav Tisarevic report on Serbian National Renewal news conference on 9 Dec at the International Press Center in Belgrade]

[Text] The Yugoslav crisis has entered the denouement stage. There are two main concepts in the conflict: a European concept on sovereign states and our Serbian concept on the liberation and unification of Serbs. Serbia has been exposed to unprecedented pressure and threats in order to give up the idea of unifying Serbian lands and to accept the deployment of the blue helmets on the borders of Tito's republics. We will endure all this. Europe will soon realize how strong we are, and that it needs us more than we need it. This was stated by Mirko Jovic, president of Serbian National Renewal, adding that the Serbs have liberated 80 percent of Serbian territory in Croatia, that Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina are holding well, and that only Serbs in Macedonia are not protected. In addition to President Jovic [words indistinct], Serbian National Renewal is against elections being held until the war ends, Serbia's borders are defined, a new constitution is adopted, and the state system (?determined).

At the news conference it was repeated that Serbian National Renewal favors a monarchy. This party also demands that a new federal government be set up. According to the party, the candidates for prime minister should be the leaders of the Knin and Bosnian Krajinas, Dr. Milan Babic and Dr. Radovan Karadzic, respectively. There are no places for Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic in the SFRY Presidency any more. Representatives of the new Serbian Krajinas should immediately be elected in this organ. It is due to them that Yugoslavia still exists.

Jovic said that Vuk Draskovic was not a serious politician and that he and his Serbian Renewal Movement broke up the Serbian block and prevented the creation of the Serbian opposition. Vuk has said so many things against Serbs that the only thing left for him to say is that Kosovo should be given to Albanians, Jovic said.

Kraljevo Reservists Protest Draft, Status

*LD0912174191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Kraljevo, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—More than 1,000 reservists from Kraljevo who were recently drafted to return to the battlefield in Western Srem held a further rally today to express their protest to municipal civilian and military authorities regarding the mobilization and their status. They had already held a protest meeting on Saturday [7 November].

At the request of participants in the Saturday meeting, Colonel Mladen Kovacevic, assistant Serbian defense minister, addressed them today. One of the key questions of the reservists who have been mobilized again, was why the same people must go again to the battlefields, even though they have spent more than four months in war zones in Croatia this year.

Following a heated discussion, a conclusion was reached that the group of Kraljevo reservists who have already received their draft papers should immediately set off for Belgrade to have talks with the relevant authorities in the command of the First Army District regarding their demand that mobilization be carried out evenly and that army records be updated to avoid drafting the same men again to fight in Croatia.

Upon the return of the delegation, another rally will be held at which the reservists will be informed about the result of the Belgrade talks.

Possibility of Government Reconstruction Viewed

*92BA0132B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
1 Nov 91 p 12*

[Article by M.T.: "Is a New Reconstruction of the Government of Serbia In Sight? Bozovic the New Prime Minister?"]

[Text] As has been heard from unofficial sources, the replacement of the current prime minister, Dragutin

Zelenovic, and the arrival of Radoman Bozovic in his place are planned. The resignation of Government Vice President Slobodan Prohaska has been announced, and the imminent departure of Ratomir Vico, minister of information, is being mentioned.

After the July reconstruction of the government of Serbia, is a new one in sight? Although all the cards have not been fully shown, Government Vice President Dr. Budimir Kosutic somehow prepared the public for this possibility at a recent press conference. First of all, he didn't refute the comments of reporters that the government of Serbia has remained isolated because policy has been carried out poorly. Moreover, he announced that he believes the people more than politicians, so it would be good to carry out another reconstruction of the government, in which competent people from various parties would be included, sufficiently capable of leading the Serbian people into a better future.

That this is not just a vice president's reservation or his personal viewpoint, but an idea that has perhaps been long thought about already in the Republic, is confirmed by Kosutic's statement for BORBA about the announced resignation of Slobodan Prohaska, government vice president and minister for development and economic relations with foreign countries.

"I consider that to be good for a fine reconstruction of the government," Dr. Kosutic said.

That a new reconstruction of the government is dictated by events, and not a surplus of democracy, is confirmed by the fact that after one government vice president, Velimir Radivojevic, another (Prohaska) is withdrawing whose area of responsibility is also closely connected with economic development and economics. Evidently, these chess moves are not a complete coincidence, if it is known that the economy and economics are a Serbian sore point.

This picture of a possible reconstruction of the government also incorporates some unofficial announcements about the departure of the minister of information, Ratomir Vico, as well. It is very possible that guilt is attributed to him for not doing more in expected propaganda for the benefit of Serbia, at a time when Europe is turning against it, threatening it with economic sanctions. There is a general impression that Vico was much more industrious in making a "house speech" in the government and the Assembly of Serbia, through which access for reporters to certain sources of information was made more difficult.

There is also unofficial talk about the replacement of the prime minister himself, Dragutin Zelenovic, with his colleague from Vojvodina, Radoman Bozovic, about whom it is claimed that, with his arrival as chief of the representative group of the Socialist Party of Serbia in the Assembly of Serbia, he succeeded in implementing order and parliamentary discipline.

What would the possible departure of Zelenovic mean? According to some assessments, the complete government would "fall" with it. However, the fact is that this same government has already undergone significant changes in personnel. One heretofore unutilized trump card is still left to it; Kosutic referred to it in his statement—turning to other parties. If it avoided dialogue with its opposition this time too, the government would again lose repute.

The opposition was the first to pose the question of reconstruction, as early as this summer, and thus brought about, if only indirectly, some movement from a standstill. The support of the opposition is gathering with the arrival of the new minister of foreign affairs, Vladislav Jovanovic, in the position of Branko Mikasinovic, who was fairly incomprehensible until recently and did not appear in public.

Nevertheless, the opposition has not yet been consulted about the possible reconstruction of the government of Serbia, as Milenko Radic, legal adviser of the Serbian reconstruction movement, confirmed to us. Experience up to now indicates, mentions Radic, that there have been formal, individual contacts with representatives of the opposition only to control dissatisfaction and gain allies.

Journalists Protest Seizure of BORBA Offices

*LD0712090991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2130 GMT 6 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, December 6 (TANJUG)—The Journalists' Association of Serbia today protested to Croatian Information Minister Branko Salaj because the office of the Belgrade daily BORBA in Zagreb has been 'under siege' by certain individuals for some time.

The Journalists' Association of Serbia condemned the 'attempts to transform the seized office through illegal ways and unacceptable methods into a new information organ of the commander in chief, under the name—the Croatian Soldier.'

Three reporters seized the BORBA office about ten days ago and denied entry to the other members of the staff, claiming that they had the support of the Croatian authorities for what they were doing.

The Croatian Information Ministry said that it was not behind these actions, but it did not condemn them.

BORBA reporters from the Zagreb office asked the ministry to condemn the seizing of this office and to enable them to continue normal work.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Koljevic on Hague Official's Support for Talks

*LD0712235291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1923 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[Text] Sarajevo, December 7 (TANJUG)—Member of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Nikola Koljevic said today that coordinator of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia Henri Wijnaendts had supported the Serbian Democratic Party's initiative for talks among Moslems, Serbs and Croats on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslavia.

Koljevic, back from a visit to Paris, said it was noted in his talks in the French capital that agreement among the three constituent peoples of this Yugoslav republic—Serbs, Moslems and Croats—was essential if an escalation of the war was to be avoided.

Koljevic headed a delegation of Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina who presented a proposal for the talks to Wijnaendts.

According to Koljevic, Wijnaendts said that Bosnia-Herzegovina's specific situation required that solutions be sought within the republic itself.

Wijnaendts gave assurances to the delegation that the E.C. would offer its services in dealing with the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that it would not impose any solutions, he added.

Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose population is 43 per cent Moslem, 31 per cent Serb and 17 per cent Croat, is ruled by a coalition of their national parties.

The Serbs have decided in a plebiscite to remain in Yugoslavia. The Democratic Action Party, which rallies the majority of Moslems in the republic, urges a sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina does not want the republic to remain in Yugoslavia.

For this reason, the Serbian parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina has proposed that the crisis be resolved through by political and peaceful means, i.e. talks to be held from December 9 to 16.

The Serbian Democratic Party is still waiting for reply from the other two parties in the ruling coalition.

Presidency Member Talks With Capljina Officials

*AU0612120191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] During his visit to Herzegovina, Eijup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and coordinator of the Crisis Headquarters of Bosnia-Herzegovina, met with the members of the Capljina communal government, presidents of the political parties in the commune, Capljina mayor, and the head of

Capljina police station, in Capljina today. They discussed the political and security situation in this commune.

Capljina Authorities Deny Barricade 'Untruths'

*AU0912203591 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] On the occasion of almost daily reports regarding the security situation in the Capljina Commune, as well as in connection with today's announcement of the Second Operational Group of the Yugoslav People's Army for Hercegovina which says that the situation in the Neretva valley is becoming more complex and that barricades have been set up in the Capljina Commune, the Capljina Public Security Station has issued a public announcement which says the following:

On the territory of the Capljina Commune there is not a single barricade, and there have not been any more significant incidents which may complicate the security situation further.

This has not been the first time untruths are presented through the media about the security situation in Capljina. We do not know what purpose these untruths can serve, we can only guess. We point out that the latest announcements by the Capljina Garrison are very positive as regards the security situation in the Capljina Commune and the cooperation with the [word indistinct] authorities.

Serb Party Seeks 'Intense Negotiations' on Crisis

*LD0612224991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1743 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] Sarajevo, December 5 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina will propose to the partners in the ruling coalition new and intense negotiations for resolving the political crisis in this central Yugoslav republic.

As reporters were told today, representatives of the biggest national party of Serbs will propose to the national parties of Moslems and Croats that political negotiations take place from December 9-16 this year.

The decision was adopted by Serbian parliament in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was formed illegally after Moslem and Croat deputies adopted a decision, also illegally, about the establishment of a sovereign and independent state, against the will of the Serbian deputies.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is an ethnic mix of around 43 percent Moslems, 31 percent Serbs and 17 percent Croats, and all three nations are constituent, under the Constitution.

The Serbian people decided to remain in Yugoslavia, at a plebiscite. The Party of Democratic Action which

rallies most of the Moslems, urges a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina and a change in its position within the federal state, while the Croatian Democratic Union, the party which rallies Croats, does not want Croats to remain in Yugoslavia.

The Serbian Democratic Party believes that negotiations are necessary and that the only way to resolve the crisis is through political means and to avoid a civil war.

Explosives Stolen From Warehouse in Bucici

*AU0612121791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] After the armed abduction of a truck carrying explosive substances near Vitez on 3 December, a new theft of explosives occurred near Novi Travnik yesterday.

Some 360 kg of explosives and a certain amount of detonating fuses and ignitors were stolen from the warehouse, which is located in the town of Bucici near Novi Travnik and belongs to the Pjescara unit near Vitez of the company Industrial Construction Materials.

TANJUG has learned in the Zenica Center of Public Security [police] that the warehouse was not protected by security guards, although the law requires such protection.

The robbers have not been caught yet but an investigation is under way.

Scenarios for Division of Republic Discussed

*92BA0132C Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
31 Oct-1 Nov 91 p 10*

[Article by Mladen Miroslavljec: "Serbian Games About the Future of Bosnia-Hercegovina: What Is Izetbegovic Waiting For?"]

[Text] Planning memoranda have been prepared in detail and it is certain that great trials are awaiting Bosnia-Hercegovina. What is counterproductive in everything is persisting with a policy of "patience and balance," especially since the most recent documents from The Hague and European opinions speak clearly about both the position and the statehood of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The opinion is unanimous that only fear is keeping Bosnia-Hercegovina from the eruption of bloody war clashes on its soil. Indeed, it has been factually, if not formally, drawn into the war between Serbia and the National Army, on the one hand, and Croatia, on the other, and the material losses that it has suffered due to the war are huge. Certain of its areas, like eastern Hercegovina and Bosnian krajina, have become openly involved in the war conflict, because of the participation of reservists from these areas in the war in Croatia, and the deputy republic minister for internal affairs, Dr. Vitomir Zepinic, has stated that 10,000 men from

Bosnia-Herzegovina are fighting in Croatia. What is happening to Yugoslavia is happening even faster to Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that it is difficult to claim that it exists at all as the united whole known up to now. Bosnia is now practically cut off from the world.

Muslim Patience

The Serbs have formed four "autonomous areas" in which the republic has almost no intervention, except when there is a case of granting assistance, and after the formation of the "assembly of the Serbian people" in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the republic government has definitely been dismantled. However, due primarily to the great, almost unbelievable patience of the Muslims, conflict has not yet broken out.

In some newly formed "Serbian autonomous areas," Muslims account for 40 percent of the population. The greatest pressure on the Muslims is certainly the one to submit to the "Belgrade initiative" and come out willingly for remaining in the future "small Yugoslavia" or, as the new term reads, "united Serbian states," which they will definitely not do voluntarily. Therefore, they are constantly being threatened with a war that would quickly transform Bosnia-Herzegovina into an armed camp in which scores of various armed units would clash. It is difficult to assess what the future moves of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] will be, since its leadership, with Ali Izetbegovic, is acting as if some other republic is falling apart, and not the one in which it is continuing to divide power with those who are actually dismantling this republic. To be sure, this could be explained by the fact that they consider Izetbegovic, if not more powerful, then more patient than the other current leaders in these regions.

For the Preservation of Yugoslavia

Within the context of this balancing act, there is also Izetbegovic's statement that "all citizens of Bosnia want their fate to be decided on in Sarajevo, and not in Belgrade. However, this does not mean that we are for an independent state. The Muslim nation in Yugoslavia is dispersed. There are Muslims in Macedonia, in Kosovo, in Croatia, in Serbia. Therefore, it is in our Muslims' interest to preserve Yugoslav unity."

The president of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, already announced that Serbs do not want Bosnia-Herzegovina as a united creation when he stated that "Yugoslavia cannot change, and Bosnia-Herzegovina remain the same." However, more than on Karadzic's support, the fate of Bosnia-Herzegovina will depend on the final scenario to which Serbia turns in resolving the relationships of the former federation, as well as whether international factors will permit it.

The leadership of Serbia has several "scenarios." This was stated a month ago by the vice president of the Assembly of Serbia, Pavic Obradovic, who, it is known, does not speak on his own. According to Obradovic,

"This is, first of all, a life in a union without Slovenia and without Croatia on Croatian soil, without a part of Bosnia-Herzegovina and without a part of Macedonia. The second scenario is life in a country made up only of Serbian territories. The ideal that we long for in Serbia, under these conditions, is a Yugoslavia without Slovenia and Croatia on Croatian soil. It is not realistic to expect that Yugoslavia can survive in its present borders, but it is possible in new frameworks." The leadership of the SDS of the "krajina" also formulated the possibility recently that the "Serbian Autonomous Region krajina unite with the Bosnian krajina"; this caused unease in The Hague, to put it mildly.

Three Scenarios

What kinds of games are being played regarding the future of Yugoslavia, as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina, are shown by material in the first issue of the weekly EPOHA, the newspaper of the Socialist Party of Serbia, under the title "How We Will Set Up Our Borders." In text by the author, Dr. Jovana Ilijic, "Three Scenarios," significant space is devoted to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The Problems of Setting Up Borders in Bosnia-Herzegovina:

"1. The population of Bosnia-Herzegovina is ethnically nonhomogeneous and mixed by area. Thus it is very difficult here to set up strict borders on an ethnic basis. As a consequence of this, as well as the extreme ethnic similarity of its peoples (the same language, centuries of living together, the identical level of economic, cultural and other development), the best solution is that this republic remain in a third Yugoslavia, in the spirit of the 'Belgrade initiative.' But, perhaps it would be appropriate in this case, nevertheless, for those territories with a majority of Croatian population (western Herzegovina, Posavina around Samac) to belong to the Republic of Croatia. Because, western Herzegovina is practically (vitaly) already part of Croatia. Militant Croats there are particularly influential with their pronounced Croatian clerical-nationalistic views and pronounced Serbo-phobia. Tudjman's laws are already in effect in that part of Bosnia-Herzegovina now. The local inhabitants, if they remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be a constant source of threat and instability. Thus they should be allowed in a democratic manner to go where they want.

"2. The remainder of Bosnia-Herzegovina, conceived of in this way (without Croatian areas), should be politically and legally organized according to the constitution of a third Yugoslavia and according to the constitution of a (new) Bosnia-Herzegovina, or it should be organized in a way that is most appropriate for the majority of the population. In connection with this, we mention, nevertheless, that two important world development processes should be kept in mind: the simultaneous evolution of integration and development of democratic regionalism. The territorial organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina on an ethno-demographic principle is possible. In any case,

peoples and citizens who remain to live in such a Bosnia-Herzegovina (and one of that size) should mutually honor and respect each other. This is especially true for Serbs and Muslims. There is no reason for them to quarrel and destroy each other. Earlier conflicts must not be repeated. With such a Bosnia-Herzegovina remaining in a third Yugoslavia, all Yugoslav Muslims, except those in dispersal (Zagreb, Slovenia and elsewhere), will remain to live in one state. In this case the majority of Serbs and Croats would also live in one (their own) state. Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to our understanding, should have a two-house parliament: a house of citizens and a house of peoples (possibly regions). It is very essential for the peoples constituted in this republic to have the same rights and obligations in every respect.

"3. An exit for Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Adriatic is a very important question. It should also be resolved in a democratic manner. In this case the functional-economic principle, in addition to the ethnic one, should be applied more meaningfully. At issue are the mouth of the Neretva and the port of Ploce. They are the lungs of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Two or three solutions are possible. The best and most practical solution from the standpoint of Bosnia-Herzegovina is for Ploce port to be within its territory. It would perhaps be most fitting in this case that Neum district and parts of the Metkovic, Stolac, and Trebinje districts be attached to a Republic of Dubrovnik. The Dubrovnik coast, as has been said earlier, should be a separate federal unit in a third Yugoslavia or, possibly, gain the status of a Yugoslav-Croatian condominium (without Prevlaka and Ostri Cape, which should belong to Montenegro). If Ploce port remains in the Republic of Croatia, its undisturbed use by businessmen and other parties from Bosnia-Herzegovina should be voted for. It would be desirable for the greater part of the port to be under the direct patronage of Bosnia-Herzegovina (a free customs zone). It would also be desirable for the legal-functional status of Ploce to be internationally recognized and guaranteed since the powers in Zagreb can scarcely be trusted.

"4. The new, largely crisis situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina was created on 15 October this year after the forcible and unconstitutional approval in the Assembly of this republic of a memorandum of the SDA and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] on the independence and sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. With this act this republic, contrary to the wishes of the Serbian people, is being removed from Yugoslavia. However, the Serbian people still want to remain in this state. In order for the crisis situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be resolved, in a favorable manner and without conflict and bloodshed, a referendum should be held as soon as possible, in which the citizens of this republic would come out for the type of society they want and whom they wish to continue to live with. If the majority of Muslims and Croats express the desire in the referendum to live outside Yugoslavia, and the majority of Serbs to stay in it, then the wishes expressed in this manner should be respected. In this case setting up

borders should be approached with the maximum application of the ethnic principle.

"In the western part of Bosnia, where mostly Serbs live, a Serbian krajina should be established. It would be one of the federal units of a third Yugoslavia. Its makeup would include a Muslim enclave, a Bihac-Cazin autonomous region. The Serbian Autonomous Region krajina would be attached to the Serbian krajina. Banja Luka would be its principal city. That city has the largest population, is the strongest economic center and has the most developed urban functions among the cities of Krajina. What Novi Sad is for Vojvodina, Kragujevac for Sumadija, Nis for southeastern Serbia, Banja Luka should become for the western Serbian areas. Knin should not be the principal city of Serbian krajina because of its peripheral location and small demographic, economic and urban-tertiary capacities. Knin should be a unique, honorary principal city in Serbian krajina, because of its pioneering role in the third Serbian uprising. Institutions should be located in it that relate to cooperation between Krajina and are connected with the Adriatic transportation complex. In the central part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Muslims are in the majority, a (Muslim) republic of Bosnia can be formed that would have a Serbian enclave within it—the autonomous region of Romanija. Semberija would be attached to Serbia, and eastern Herzegovina to Montenegro. Eastern Bosnia, where there is a very mixed Serbian and Muslim population (except for small border corrections for the benefit of Serbia, where this is possible and justified: e.g., on the territory of Rudo district), should gain the status of a Yugoslav-Bosnian condominium. Western Herzegovina, we repeat, should be attached to the Republic of Croatia. However, if the local population wishes to remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina, then this area and the Republic of Bosnia can constitute a single political-territorial unit. In this case the current name of the state, Bosnia-Herzegovina, could remain."

Boomerang

Therefore, as far as Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned, planning memoranda have been prepared in detail and to that extent it is certain that great trials, as well as a possible further slippage into a wartime vortex, await this republic. However, what is counterproductive in everything is persisting with a policy of "patience and balance," especially since the most recent documents from The Hague and European opinions speak clearly about both the position and the statehood of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The defining of the independence and integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina is already halfway along and any hesitation to solidify and confirm it will be a boomerang for those who have stopped short of it. Hope for the assistance of the Almighty and expectations regarding the influence of the European Community and other international factors are not sufficient for Bosnia-Herzegovina to stride toward a certain, peaceful future. Even Izetbegovic must take this into account.

Montenegro

Socialist Party Opposes 'Senseless War'

AU0912212691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Dino Ramovic report]

[Text] Today, one year after the first multi-party elections, Montenegro is in an unbearably difficult situation, says a communique issued by the Socialist Party of Montenegro. Many pre-election promises have not been fulfilled. Two hard facts remain: Montenegro is involved in a senseless civil war, and because of this involvement in the war, the Montenegrin economy has been subjected to the economic sanctions of Europe and the United States. The worst thing of all, the socialists stress, is the fact that more than 100 citizens of Montenegro have lost lives in a war in which this republic did not have to take part.

Instead of a peaceful, democratic, prosperous, and ecologically minded state, Montenegro has been transformed into of a warehouse of weapons and military equipment and its shores into a large port for warfare purposes. On top of that, none of its citizens would be able to say who really is running Montenegro, its authorities or the military commanders. Montenegro President Momir Bulatovic indirectly admitted that such a situation existed when he said in the United States that he is not able to realize his peace-loving intentions.

Therefore, the Socialist Party of Montenegro appeals to the highest organs of authority in the republic to face the situation and make a decision which will pull Montenegro and its citizens out of the war and in this way spare it international sanctions and return Montenegro to its own interests.

Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs General Petar Gracanin visited Titograd today. He was received by Milo Djukanovic, president of the Montenegrin Government. They concluded that the security situation in Montenegro is relatively good, that is to say, better than in other republics.

Democratic Party of Socialists' Views Cited

92BA0132A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
1 Nov 91 p 10

[Article including interview with Svetozar Marovic, general secretary of the Democratic Party of Socialists in Montenegro, by Bozidar Milicic; place and date not given: "Time of Trials for Humanity"]

[Text] Today the Macedonian people feel a threat to the basic values of their own being. The Montenegrin is a man of ethics, but today is a time of great temptations for ethical people. It would be tragic to provoke conflicts between that which the Montenegrin person carries in himself as Serbianism and that which he feels and

cherishes as a Montenegrin. Serbianism is the basis of his identity, and Montenegrinism an expression of his consciousness and individuality.

By a decision that The Hague declaration be signed, the leadership of Montenegro has announced a new political course in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. This move has received the broad support of the people. The Montenegrin leadership has long waited, in the resolution of Yugoslav problems, to direct the attention of the domestic and world public to Montenegrin government and national interests. Naturally, it is not easy to make fateful decisions for one's people and government, but it seems that Montenegro should have long realized that it has fallen into an impasse between Kadijevic's Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and Milosevic's Serbianism, on the other, although similar political strategies are involved.

The traditional ethical characteristics of the Montenegrin, as a warrior and a lover of freedom, are even being maltreated and vulgarized, and have been provoked (over 60 soldiers from Montenegro have fallen on the Croatian battlefield). All this has also opened up the dilemma of whether the Montenegrins are a political people. We are talking about this with Svetozar Marovic, general secretary of the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro.

The question is whether Montenegrins know their well-being, or is it a case of manipulation, obsolete ideologies, and renewed national myths and interests? I believe that a people becomes political when it comprises a society of equal, free people who have an awareness about their own well-being, expressed through certain specific forms of rule, or when they assume the responsibility for their own choice and actions. Proceeding from these realizations, the Montenegrin people are a political people, because they have defined the way to their well-being. Not a single people can find well-being for themselves if they do not take into account an awareness about their own beginning, history, their own religion, spirit, ethics, their memory. This is the basis of a good choice. Today the Montenegrin people, at the end of this Yugoslavia, feel a threat to the basic values of their own being. These are feelings that political solutions must take into account. The Montenegrin is a person of ethics, but today is a time of great trials for ethical people.

Montenegrins and Serbianism

[Milicic] Since the trends toward disintegration began in Yugoslavia, Montenegro has had an extremely thankless role thrust on it—either patriots or traitors in relation to Serbianism.

[Marovic] Nothing has so permeated through tensions the being of our people as that imposed conflict, which is motivated by reasons of power and mistakes. Efforts have been made (and efforts are being made even now) to ascribe an identity to the Montenegrin people. This is being done by many well-intentioned people who are constantly returning to the past and attempting to

explain everything at the beginning. This unprecedented guardianship of and concern for the identity of a people have produced only public tensions and unhappy clashes. It would be tragic to provoke conflicts between that which the Montenegrin person carries in himself as Serbianism and that which he feels and cherishes as a Montenegrin. The Montenegrin knows from whence his roots originate, knows what his spiritual community is, which faith has been the faith of his people and which church belongs to his memory. The Montenegrin remembers his mythical pictures, preserves and strictly respects his moral norms and obligations toward historical awareness. This is a people that has developed and specific values in its lifetime, which are only its characteristics and for which it develops a need for the preservation and awareness of the uniqueness of such an identity. Serbianism is the basis of its identity, and Montenegrinism the expression of its awareness and individuality. This also constitutes obligations for this people: Concern about the Serbian spirit and its people in these crucial moments is also, at the same time, concern for the fate and prospects of the Montenegrin people and its responsibilities for the fate of people who live today on the territory that belongs to Montenegrin society.

[Milicic] By accepting The Hague declaration, the Montenegrin parliament has also specified its view toward Montenegrin statehood.

[Marovic] The Hague document has not defined our relationship with Montenegrin statehood. Awareness of a defined relationship with our statehood is determined by our relationship not only with the Peace conference in The Hague but with the resolution of the Yugoslav government crisis in general. I really do not know why it is desired to produce the impression that this decision is especially aimed at the Serbian people and their policy, that this act contradicts the historical interests of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples.

Montenegro has no need to proclaim its independence separately. Statehood is a part of the collective awareness of the identity of Montenegrins. Therefore, it is a component part of the public and political life of our people. If the statehood of Montenegrins is a historical fact, then it would be difficult to explain, even under the assumption that Montenegro made such a decision in the meantime, that this decision is contrary to the interests of Montenegro and Montenegrins, who recall their national lifetime and their national history with such pleasure. Moreover, Montenegro has always found a means to carry out its duties in the most dignified way in the defense of the mutual interests of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples. It has known how to preserve and care for its responsibility and its honor. Therefore, criticism and references to weaknesses in a political initiative should not arouse passions of doubt and conflicts, which have always been activated among these peoples and taken tragic sacrifices, or make two peoples unhappy for decades because of these brotherly fates.

This is especially true since The Hague document is not yet complete. Thus relationships and circumstances should be rationalized.

No One Can Be Alone

[Milicic] The political isolation of Montenegro, caused by the collapse of the Yugoslav federation, inevitably raises, it seems, a much more difficult question.

[Marovic] You posed one, but there are two questions: can Montenegro be alone and does it want to be alone? The Montenegrin people themselves will define—directly and secretly—their unity with other peoples of Yugoslavia. But, assumptions must be created for such a decision. No decision that has no alternative is a democratic decision. I am certain that the Montenegrin people will make the right decision.

Today no one lives alone or can live alone. Neither great countries nor great peoples live alone today. Therefore, still another question is important: How will Montenegro live with other countries, other peoples? We have an effect on these decisions with only one act. The world is connected today. The prospects of the Montenegrins are primarily such that, on the basis of a common faith, a common culture and memory, a common heritage, but also interests, they will find the right ways with the Serbian people closest to them, but they will also have both obligations and a duty to find connections and common ground with other peoples.

[Milicic] The Democratic Party of Socialists has remained true to its election platform, not to stir up national problems. How do you view the actions of Moslem nationalists and separatists?

[Marovic] Our party, our people, and our government cannot allow decisions to be made on the territory of Montenegro, contrary to laws and principles of legitimacy, that put its territorial integrity and the constitutional and legal order of the society in question. The Montenegrin government is obligated to undertake, within the limits of its authority, all activities provided for by law that will protect the legal security of our citizens, the national solemnity of Montenegrin society, respecting the standards accepted and valued by the civilized world, international documents and civil acts about rights and human freedoms.

[Milicic] The National Party has remained isolated in defense of the war, as an opportunity of resolving the Serbian-Croatian conflict. Some have viewed this as proof that Serbianism in Montenegro is no longer viewed as identical with current Serbian policy.

[Marovic] Faith and national feelings surpass policy. They are a part of the intimate nature of both a person and a people and are present only to a limited extent in public. Parties that base their political involvement on these feelings threaten the basic values of the spirit, or the spiritual integrity of an individual and a people. No party, and not the National, can count on controlling the

faith of a people and its feeling of identity. In Montenegro Serbianism does not belong to a single party. It is part of a people, their awareness and emotions. Political parties can perhaps contribute to the creation of public concern about some basic values of a people, but cannot also be the exclusive representative of this values.

Changes

Neither principles nor aims have changed in our politics. However, if principles and aims do not change so quickly, we must admit, our reality is changing. Maybe we are talking about a reality in which the same principles and the same aims assume different connotations. I do not know....

Macedonia

Tupurkovski Considers Withdrawal From Presidency
LD0912150891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—At a press conference in Skopje today Vasil Tupurkovski [of Macedonia] said he is not thinking of returning to, but rather of quitting the Yugoslav Presidency.

Tupurkovski said that this is a preliminary announcement of his withdrawal from the Presidency, because, he said, consultations to assess the consequences of such a move are in progress.

Only after the consultations, will a definite decision regarding my membership of the Yugoslav Presidency be made public, Tupurkovski said.

Tupurkovski considers that conclusions regarding his return to the Yugoslav Presidency, based on the fact that he convened a session of the Amnesty Commission, are wrong, because the session of the Commission of which he is president, was convened purely for humanitarian reasons. This is not an indication of my future relations with Yugoslav Presidency and with the people who are still there, because these are well known, Vasil Tupurkovski said at a press conference in Skopje today.

Tupurkovski 'Surprised' by U.S. Sanctions

LD0912203691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—Vasil Tupurkovski, Presidency of Yugoslavia member from the Republic of Macedonia, today said he was surprised by the latest decision of the United States Administration to introduce economic sanctions against Yugoslavia as a whole, since "that same administration had decided only a week earlier to exempt Macedonia from sanctions," as Tupurkovski specified.

Tupurkovski made the statement at a news conference in the Macedonian capital of Skopje, which he called to inform the public about the results of his recent, several-day visits to the U.S. and Canada.

The U.S. introduced economic sanctions against Yugoslavia on December 6.

Tupurkovski ascribed the change in Washington's stand to the need for the U.S. to take a stance on the intention of a group of European countries to Recognize the republics of Slovenia and Croatia, which have taken unilateral decisions to secede from Yugoslavia.

Tupurkovski said that the latest U.S. decision was "more a signal to Croatia and Serbia, and also the E.C., that the United States feel that any selective solution of the Yugoslav crisis could lead to the escalation of that crisis."

Tupurkovski feels that the U.S. sanctions will not endanger the Republic of Macedonia since, as he specified, a "solution of the whole situation is possible as early as this week."

Tupurkovski said that Germany, Austria and Hungary, if they go through with their announced intention to laterally to recognize Slovenia and Croatia, could find themselves internationally isolated.

Tupurkovski said he doubted that U.N. peacekeeping forces would be deployed in Yugoslavia, since the "operation would involve great expenditures, which not all countries bound to do so are ready to shoulder at this moment," as he observed.